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The Efficacy of a Control Period Approach in Historic Preservation

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THE EFFICACY OF A CONTROL PERIOD APPROACH IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

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treasure of past experiences, which is vital to the understanding of how our entire country arrived at where it is today. It is people like Bob Miller, who are committed to securing that heritage for all future generations.

NOTE TO THE READER

Although the primary focus of this thesis is related to a specific method for preservation referred to as "Control Period" there was a need to apply the issues discussed to a specific site in order to justify the argument. The site chosen was a mill in Northeastern Connecticut which has been referred to as either the Hale mill or the Wilkinson mill depending on which end of the building's life a person views as most important.

The building complex is quite large and consists of more than 25 individual components. The total provided history of the site was developed using available documentation, and while every effort was made to gather accurate data, some discrepancies may exist. If in fact inconsistencies arise, they only help to emphasize the issue of this thesis, which depends on the fact that no total history can ever be complete. While this history is vital for defining change in the site, it is not critical to the argument of the thesis. Because of this, the building's total history has been excluded from the text of the paper, being added as appendix A-3 at the back. Each component of the complex has been provided a number in the construction chronology (appendix A-1) and the layered site plan (appendix A-2), which is used within the text and appendix as reference, to provide the reader a better understanding of each component's location in the complex. These two appendices include all of the components that existed on the site from the time at which the property was purchased by James Rhodes in 1806 to the present (with the

exception of some of the outbuildings for which little information is known). There is no possible way that all of the buildings listed in these two documents, could ever have existed at the same time.

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INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL VS. CONTEMPORARY

What is a period of significance, or control date method to historic preservation, and when did it start? A period of significance approach is a specialized method of restoration which differs from other types of preservation primarily because it chooses to place more value on the questionable practice of returning a building "as nearly as possible" to a specific time in the past instead of allowing it to exist in the present. Although many successful efforts have employed the control period method, unlike other areas within preservation, it is often employed as a means to communicate historic information to the public at the expense of valuable historic fabric. In extreme cases, adherence to this method can result in the virtual elimination of all modern conveniences, effectively destroying a building's chance for survival in a modern context. The common wisdom within the preservation field is to apply the least amount of intervention to a site, in an effort to retain valuable historic fabric, yet often a heavy hand is used with the control period approach contradicting popular belief.

The great French thinker Eugene-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc once wrote "The term restoration and the thing itself are both modern. To restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair it, or rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of completeness which could never have existed at any given time."[1] While the field of preservation includes other methods for retaining fabric and history, including the more empirical approach of conservation, Viollet-le-Duc's intention is to make a distinction here between restoring and preserving: however, his comparison uses two terms which are not easily compared.

[1] Eugene-Emanuel Viollet-Le-Duc, *On Restoration by E. Viollet-le-Duc and a Notice of His Works in Connection With The Historical Monuments of France*, Trans. Charles Wethered (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1875), 9.

To make this clearer, a set of definitions are necessary for the different terms yet few of them have well enough defined meanings to show a distinction between the two.

The *Dictionary of Building Preservation* provides one definition of preservation as "the protection of a material from physical deterioration or disintegration because of natural elements or human activity, by various techniques including maintenance, stabilization, and conservation", but also employs a more contemporary definition (20th c.) of "The process of protection and enhancement of historic heritage sites, structures, buildings, and objects through a broad range of physical and intellectual methods including conservation, interpretation, maintenance, reconstruction." While Viollet-le-Duc sought to differentiate between the two terms, it is impossible to assume that a comparison could be made at all. Preservation has become synonymous with a broad field of different methodologies, each employing unique approaches. Even within these different methodologies are opposing viewpoints, and control period restoration is no exception.

Restoration is defined as "the process of returning, as nearly as possible an existing site, building, structure, or object to its condition at a particular time in history, using the same construction materials and methods as the original where possible". Both restoration and preservation are names for methods used in building maintenance but one cannot replace the other. Unlike methods in the field of architecture which fundamentally address the creation of new buildings, these two methods have been placed into the independent profession of historic preservation. Are both of these tools legitimate forms of Historic Preservation or have the two terms simply been linked together into the preservation field as a result of misunderstanding the meanings?

While preserving and restoring are both methods used on existing structures, the results of each differ greatly. It is the processes by which these results are accomplished, that provide a better understanding of their function as well as a misunderstanding of their

use in the larger field of Historic Preservation. Unfortunately many people see no difference between these two words, and while the difference between them is considerable, it is the people employed in the field of historic preservation that often confuse them the most.

When defining the word restoration, The Dictionary of Building Preservation claims its first application in the United States was performed on the Touro Synagogue in 1828 located in Newport, Rhode Island. While the definition given does not use the term *period of significance* or its synonym *control date* when identifying the synagogue project, the complete definition ironically includes a synonymous reference to conjectural restoration, rehabilitation and control date. The general lack of understanding between terms within the field of preservation plays a large role in public misunderstanding of any work in which an old structure is involved. The general public often does not understand the need for a preservationist, and the source of this misunderstanding stems from the wide range of positions the preservationist may need to fill on any given site. While the preservationist has a responsibility to define any intervention and its impact on the historic value of the site, decisions which must be made will often differ depending on which discipline the preservationist must adhere to at a given moment. There are no codes or strict rules on which the preservationist can base intelligent choices and in most cases they are at the mercy of the site owner, who may dictate a chosen path based on factors which range from costs to personal taste As a service industry, historic preservation must consider the group to which information is being conveyed as well as the group for which the work is being executed; however, most important is the awareness that any action taken, regardless of size or intention, either in the context of the structure or its history, will result in change.

CHANGES

Denying the existence of change as a result of any action taken regardless of size is a fault which helps explain why it is difficult to discern the difference between methods of interpretation. It is often easy to forget that history is a man-made discipline, therefore time and change don't really make history, people do. "They fashion an artifice of nature. They participate in the work that changes nature into environment, and thus modifying the nature of man. Historians participate in the movement through which a society transforms its relation to nature by changing the 'natural' into the utilitarian or esthetic, or by making a social institution shift from one status to another (for example, a church that is converted into a museum)."[2] Michael De Certeau suggests in this passage that the function of the historian is to "civilize" nature for the sake of human experience, and in the process create history, allowing the milieu of the past to be organized into an understandable package, collection or archive.

While forces outside the human experience play a role in the creation of history, man is the measure of all things. Recorded history is the human experience in which nature has always been changed or "colonized".[3] All historians of any type culturally redistribute; however, some members of the heritage field believe that altering any aspect will result in unacceptable change, denying complete and total history of a site based on "real" or "true" historical "facts". These notions of real are becoming less and less empirical, as a result of an awareness of our own impact on the history we conceive. It is our interpretation and organization of this material into a never before existent collection which changes nature into environment. We have taken the raw material or primary

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[2] Michel De Certeau, *The Writing of History*, Trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 71.

[3] De Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 71.

source and transformed it into a standard product or secondary source. "Certainly, an ideology of 'real' or 'true' historical 'facts' still hovers in the air of our time; it even proliferates in a literature *on* history. Yet this is tantamount to folklorizing former practices: such frozen words outlive battles long ended; they only show the gap between received 'ideas' and practices which will change them sooner or later."[4] Clearly change is inevitable, but it is often a reluctance to change, which results in the retention of antiquated ideas of what history is and how to best preserve it, causing conflict about methods and approaches.

What history is complete and who would want it if it were possible? While archivists often say that the most difficult part of their job is to know what to save and what to throw out, many accomplished archivists recognize the need to purge. Preservationists often assume a similar role to ensure the longevity of a site, and in doing so engender change. Most historic sites are forced to differentiate between levels of value in order to maintain historic integrity and convey a comprehensive picture, but determining what to keep and what to throw away is never easy. What level of change is acceptable and what is not? Can control period ethics go too far, resulting in too much change? This is best answered through a better understanding of the function for which the end product serves. Many presumed successful examples of control period restoration exist; however as De Certeau points out, "we can observe nowadays that an increasing mass of historical books are becoming novelistic or mythic. Such books no longer produce (these) transformations in the fields of culture."[5] Like the historic books to which De Certeau refers, control period approaches can also become novelistic or mythic. Historians or preservationists using this method often loose sight of the fundamental role of preserving and presume that the past is unveiled in the finished product, when in actual

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[4] De Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 75.

[5] De Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 72.

fact they have aligned themselves all the more with the consumer's behavior.[6] The finished product has incorporated too much change creating more fantasy than fact, lacking significance and clearly showing the failure of the effort, emphasized all the more by the permanent loss of history and fabric which could have been retained by leaving the site alone.

While undesirable change most often results from arrogance, it can also result from an incomplete history. The use of a control date approach implies somehow that the structure being altered is of value to us. Once a decision has been made to change the structure to a control date, information must be gained from a variety of different sources, however the completeness of this information depends on the level to which previous generations took fact recording. While some information sources are better than others, no complete vision of the whole truth is available opening up a margin for interpretation. Although our sources for information are wide ranging, our sources of inspiration for choosing this method are far greater. Motives for executing this approach stem from many different facets; however, the primary impetus is our obsession with the past and the perceived value (either financial or emotional) of associated objects.

VALUE

Implied value is not quantifiable and varies from individual to individual as well as through time. In most historic examples a physical object or structure such as a building is used as a manifestation of the abstract concept of the person or event which no longer exists, raising it to an almost sacred level; however, objects take up space while buildings create it, requiring that we recognize the functional difference. Mircea Eliade suggests the existence of two different types of space consisting of the sacred and the profane, and while her argument may be overly laden with religious ideology, the concept

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[6] De Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 72.

of these two types of spaces may help to answer why we choose to recapture our past in buildings. Most choices made which involve preservation of any sort are dependent on the significance of the site in question. Like the guidelines for the National Register suggest, an associated level of importance is expected in order to justify a conscious act of preservation. While the definitions of words like 'significant' and 'important' are subjective, each of them imply a prerequisite amount of idolization which now raises the value of the site to a higher standard than the average or profane. Profane space is seen as "the amorphous mass consisting of an infinite number of more or less neutral spaces in which man moves, governed and driven by the obligations of an existence incorporated into an industrial society."[7] This profane space consists of the common environment of everyday life to which few pay attention, while the sacred is the strong significant space which constitutes a break in this homogeneity. For the average secular human, the line between profane and sacred is never clear and a point exists between the two which is time dependent.

This shifting line between the ordinary and the extra-ordinary, the profane and the sacred, which always exists in culture, is clearly recognized when related to historic significance but is difficult to place. Its location is always related to the individual's perception of historic value, and not society's. It is dependent on the individual's perception of what J. B. Jackson refers to as the primal time. J. B. Jackson states in *The Necessity for Ruins* "Anthropologists tell us that, in the thought of most peoples, primal time- the golden age, that is to say- begins precisely when active memory ends- thus about the time of one's great-grandfather."[8] It is the sudden awareness of the value of a period which elevates things associated with it, to a higher level of importance. Jackson

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[7] Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane, The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1962), 24.

[8] J. B. Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins and other Topics* (Amherst MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), 101.

continues by stating that an interval of neglect or discontinuity is both religiously and artistically essential. "That is what I mean when I refer to the necessity for ruins: ruins provide the incentive for restoration, and for a return to origins. There has to be (in our new concept of history) an interim of death or rejection before there can be renewal and reform."[9] This reconnection with the past elevates objects and structures to a higher "sacred" level in which some feel that new rules can apply allowing change for the sake of appearance or interpretation. Ordinary objects become antiques, justifying their irrational cost, and buildings become sacred sites for which a representation of the past is now (often irrationally) more important than the current conditions of the present.

If new resources are superior to old ones, then why do we find value in the places and products of our past? Intrinsic value is determined by age, uniqueness and irreplaceability. Of these three values only age is directly discernible through superficial observation. One mode of age perception is referred to as antiquarian and is essentially humanistic requiring a certain level of knowledge and awareness. The general public has the ability to identify something as old because of its physical appearance. A pre-existing superficial knowledge of what is old is based on a person's awareness of existing modern trends in design and the physical appearance of the buildings around them. A person who has lived in western society can differentiate old from new within their culture by looking at details and making connections with modern trends, often not knowing how old a building is, but knowing it is old. The humanistic aspect is apparent if this person is placed into an eastern culture where styles are historically quite different.

The other mode of perception is senescent and is naturalistic. Unlike antiquarian perception, this senescent perception requires awareness of organic change and is therefore less a product of culture than of nature. The awareness of prolonged use or decay such as a worn stone step, or ivy on a wall provides the viewer the ability to

[9] J. B. Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins and other Topics* (Amherst MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), 102.

identify age. It is this naturalistic quality of organic change or patina which is difficult to recreate. Things that are historically ancient ought to bear the marks of age. We believe that old things should look old, and therefore a natural patina helps to ensure a certain authenticity.[10] Unfortunately excessive decay can destroy our appreciation of age. When buildings or art objects crumble too far, their condition is seen as inherently unacceptable. The fine line between patina and deterioration is difficult to define, yet once that line is crossed, action is usually taken to re-pair, re-place, re-do, or re-novate in order to ensure its continued survival.

Nature is blind to aesthetics. For some physical changes which nature has produced, we find a beauty, while in other cases we only see the decay. Just as nature can exceed an acceptable level of change, so can our own intervention. Nature provides a patina due to the effects of weathering while humans provide their own type of patina created through efforts to combat nature's impact. Patina and deterioration can take on different forms including human intervention, and like the effects of nature, some actions are better than others. Multiple layers of paint, the repointing of sections of a facade, the replacement of unmatching hardware, or the replacement of individual glass panes, are examples which all add to the human patina. Humans also provide their own type of deterioration resulting from negligence or shortsightedness which is manifested in the construction of additions or alteration of the interiors which are not in keeping with the intention of the original architect.

Uniqueness and irreplaceability are harder to perceive than age and are assigned to buildings by people who have done research within associated fields and can justify a building's value through their expert opinion. How do these values apply to the average person and by what method can the layman experience them? Of the different buildings in Philadelphia many of them have age value because they are old. Of these old buildings,

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[10] David Lowenthal, "Age and Artifact, Dilemmas of Appreciation" in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 108.

some of them could be seen as *more* valuable because of an important event or person and yet they do not draw attention from the public because this presumed value is not readily evident. If Ben Franklin's house did not have signs to let people know it belonged to him, few would know or care. Designation and delineation of an historic site provide identity or uniqueness. Without designating a sight as historically significant, the general public may be able to recognize the building as old but would never know it was culturally important and therefore not care.

WHO MAKES THE CHOICES?

If a decision is made to return a building to a specified moment in time what remains of the building in the context of today: and more importantly, what is left of the building in the context of the past? Should a period of significance approach be allowed as a teaching tool of history and how does the approach reflect on the field of preservation? These questions are each answered differently depending on the conditions of the chosen site, the opinions of the people involved with the project, and the goal of the project as a whole. Unfortunately not all good beginnings end with a justified solution, and often people involved with a project are not completely aware of the different levels of value that a building can have which has undergone this period approach. Understanding that these different levels exist, can help to show when a control period approach might work and when it will not.

The suggestion that any addition or alteration to any structure, regardless of its scale or function, is altering the original intention of the builder or architect is often the ground on which preservationists base their argument for re-establishing a building's former appearance. Often the argument is a good one; however, is not removing the addition just as defiant when the total history of the building is considered? Additions are always conscious acts executed out of need and any addition reflects the intention of the

person who made the decision to add it. Ironically, additions sometimes have more significance than the buildings to which they are attached, in which case the original structure now plays the secondary role. Some buildings may have had early additions removed to allow for later ones. While one argument might say that a bad addition which provided a bathroom or family room off the side of a symmetrical gothic revival style house is destructive to the building, the opposing argument shows that the addition reflects the changes of the building's function and circulation through time. To remove this addition would be erasing vital information upon which the complete history depends, but saving it destroys the buildings original appearance. Is it the position of preservations to determine what history or appearance is appropriate and what is not? By being given the power to make that decision, is it possible for anyone to create an accurate picture of the past? Researchers use resources from the past to strengthen a position, and physical evidence to justify a choice, but who is to say what choice is the best? Often the available information is wrong or is misread. In some cases the required appearance cannot be created without rebuilding a portion which may have been torn down to make room for a later addition leaving us to question what is truly old and what is recreated. Our society cherishes its buildings as reminders of the past, but any time extensive work is executed on a building there will always be a question of whether or not it should have been done. We always should remind ourselves that no complete picture of the past is possible and no two people's memories or interpretations of the past are the same.

Edward Casey in his book *Remembering* speaks metaphorically of protruding objects in the landscape as things that "arrest the body momentarily in its onward motion...with the result that it no longer glides through 'free space' where there would be nothing to attach to and thus nothing to remember."[11] People appreciate control period

[11] Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 198.

efforts because they function as these protruding objects by isolating specific events, people, or places of the past as bundled packages in the continuous flow of present time, thus allowing a participant to experience a specific frozen moment. Unfortunately control period efforts have also resulted in questionable representations of the past. Has this approach become popular at the expense of historical accuracy motivated by our nostalgic need for the past in general? A control period approach provides these reminders often in a comfortable groomed version of the truth. Sites which have undergone changes to return to a control date can often include fabrications to improve recognition or value. These sites often need to include modern features such as plumbing, air conditioning, and electric lights at the expense of accuracy of the chosen control period. Although vital for the success of a desired setting, these modernizations create inconsistencies that promote a diluted version of the truth, but whose truth? The methods used to explain these choices provide people the ammunition to justify their actions. Unfortunately the explanations can often be veiled in misrepresentations for the sake of popular satisfaction.

Some preservation efforts succeed and some do not, but regardless of success or failure, the actions taken today are a part of the total history of the building. All change is a result of a physical action and the removal of anything is as much part of total history as an addition. Unfortunately history is not forgiving and the concept of reversibility is not an option in this case. Like the processes of preservation, history is not reversible.

METHODOLOGY

UNDERSTANDING THE TOOLS

While preservation on a superficial level has its roots in the first repair job, in the United States, the motivation for the historic preservation profession stems from a reaction against obsolescence, and yet often a period approach enforces the concept of obsolescence by creating a site, which is no longer useful as a building. The idea of technological obsolescence resulting from objects becoming economically useless (without reference to any residual physical utility) is a contemporary concept, and mass production, the most lasting product of the technological revolution, has been the impetus for obsolescence of everything for more than 100 years.[12]

Although the field is known as Historic Preservation, is history really being preserved? The history of the American Industrial Revolution, although related to the chosen site, is a long complex story which extends over 200 years and which should not be told here, because history is not the issues. Making a choice and accepting change are the issues that determine the fate of a site. For any course of action, options are presented for which choices must be made. While everyone involved in the field of preservation wants to make the correct decision, the notion of a correct decision suggests that all other options are wrong. It is imperative to consider that each situation is guided by an endless number of variables which exceed the immediacy of the project in question. More often the answer comes down to making the most appropriate choice based on the balanced needs and desires of the owner and the public. Under any circumstance such as this, there is no single correct answer, only better choices than others.

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[12] James Marston Fitch, *Historic Preservation, Curatorial Management of the Built World* (Charlottesville VA: University Press of Virginia 1995), 30.

With this understanding, it is my intention to use an existing structure in its present condition, with all of its nuances, as a case study to prove or disprove the efficacy of a specific type of restoration. The intention is not to prove or disprove the value of the structure but the value of the choice of tools. The goal exceeds the immediacy of the chosen building, instead attempting to determine if this control period approach of preservation is in fact a preservative measure or a destructive approach which has become obsolete.

The controversial approach called *period of significance* or *control period* has played a major role in the history of historic preservation and at one time was seen as an effective teaching tool for history. In recent years, based on the re-evaluation of past examples, this approach has been viewed by many as misleading and controversial. To understand if a control period approach is an effective tool or is outmoded, we need to understand the function of historic preservation and the role of the preservationist. Is it to actually preserve history as the title suggests or is it to preserve the artifacts from our past? The efficacy of a control period approach depends on the answer to these and other questions.

The Dictionary of Building Preservation defines *period of significance* as "the span of time when a property has attained its significance that meets the National Register criteria." The term *control period* is linked to this definition and is described as "the time period to which a historic resource is restored or interpreted." It is the definition for *control period* on which this thesis will focus. To achieve an honest control period presentation of a site or structure, a period in time must be chosen, based on past events, which is deemed to be valuable to the general public. Once chosen, the site is then returned to that point in history, and although the level of accuracy would be dependent upon available documentation and site analysis, a complete return to that time period must consider all factors that govern the building.

There are many different controversies associated with this approach to preservation. Some of the most significant presumed problems include the assumed wanton disregard for the recent history of the chosen site. The National Register clearly promotes this disregard by requiring the site attain a minimum age of fifty before it can be listed, helping to promote the misguided view that the history of the past fifty years is insignificant. Other more important issues include the level to which history can be accurately and objectively presented, as well as accurately dating all parts of a structure from available evidence. Some preservationists have pointed fingers at others who have chosen to use this method in the past; however, many of the arguments against it can only be justified subjectively, leaving one to ask if anyone opposed to the process is at least as guilty of fracturing historic presentation as those they are accusing. Does a control period approach provide a service which justifies these assumed losses?

THE CHOSEN PARAMETERS

In order to accomplish the intended goal of determining the efficacy of a control period approach, a building was chosen using a set of parameters intended to help emphasize some of the confusion created by this approach. These requirements are as follows:

1. **The structure or site should be large and ideally have served a commercial function.**

2. **The structure or site was not registered with the National Trust or any other historic organizations.**

3. The structure or site should have several different phases of construction spanning a long period of time.

4. The structure or site should be historically significant to its district or the history of its use, although this should not be common knowledge to people associated with these conditions.

5. The structure or site should be potentially threatened.

The complex chosen was last known publicly as Hale Mill in Putnam, Connecticut, and consists of more than 800,000 square feet of floor space contained in a set of interconnected buildings. Based on the existing structures and available documentation, there is evidence of a minimum of 14 independent large-scale construction phases and countless alterations spread over the 195 years since the company constructed the mill's first building. The site is presently suffering from the effects of neglect and age but has not been entirely abandoned. The buildings which are occupied, now function as secondary use structures, containing an office furniture store and a self-storage facility. From the exterior, the mill clearly consists of different phases of construction, however all of the buildings are connected and accessible from within the mill itself.

The history of the mill, though not well known, is significant to the Quinebaug River Valley. The National Park Service designated the Quinebaug & Shetucket Rivers Valley a National Heritage Corridor in 1995, referring on their website to the area as "the last green valley" in the Boston-to-Washington megalopolis. The designation was assigned to preserve the region's cultural history and to perpetuate its natural heritage, recognizing the significant features of the land as well as the man-made resources of the

area.[13] The history of the textile industry in the area is vital to that cultural history, having developed as the primary industry on the Quinebaug River as early as 1806. The Hale Mill, originally known as the Pomfret Manufacturing Company was the first cotton mill in Northeastern Connecticut and only the fifth cotton mill in the United States.

The Pomfret Manufacturing Company was started in 1806 by a consortium of prosperous industrialists from Providence Rhode Island and was referred to in 1896 as "one of the most successful of the cotton industries of that period."[14] The Wilkinson family, including the father and 3 sons, purchased the water rights to build the first mill for which Smith Wilkinson, the younger son, became the proprietor. Smith Wilkinson, one of the most prosperous mill owners of his day, was brother-in-law of Samuel Slater, the great American industrialist who is credited with the development of the industrial revolution. Wilkinson had begun his career in the textile industry early working for Slater while his father Oziel, and brother David, also part owners, fabricated Slater's earliest equipment.

The complex has remained essentially unused since 1988 when the buildings stopped functioning as a mill. While the site is not presently threatened with development, its location beside the Quinebaug River makes it an ideal spot for redevelopment. The Quinebaug Valley is one of the only sections of undeveloped land on the eastern seaboard from Boston to Washington earning it the nickname of the quiet corner, but the potential for redevelopment is great as metropolitan areas continue to grow and people's work styles become more home based. The town of Putnam is less than 1 1/2 hours driving from Boston, Providence, Worcester and Hartford and is located on highway 395 connecting Interstate 95 outside of New London, with the Massachusetts Turnpike in Worcester. The area is clearly ideal for urban expansion but has often been

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[13] National Park Service "*Quinebaug & Shetucket Rivers Valley National Heritage Corridor: In Brief,*" <http://www.nps.gov/qush/index.htm> 12 February 2001.

[14] William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industry of the United States* (1893; reprint, New York: Agustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1971), 594.

viewed as backwater or off the beaten trail. The area was still heavily industrialized 20 years ago as the mills continued to struggle against the threat of cheaper labor from the south, but times have changed and what once was dirty and backwater is now idyllic and picturesque.

It is with irony that this mill was chosen. The textile industry was America's first integrated industry. The concentration was so great that in 1832, of the 106 manufacturing concerns listed with assets over $100,000, 88 of those were listed as textile companies. In the course of 50 years America saw one of the greatest expansions of industrialization in the blossoming of the textile industry. By 1850, 896 mills were in operation along the rivers of New England, employing over one hundred thousand workers, however by the late 1970's the textile industry had moved to an environment where cheaper labor would keep costs down.[15] The companies chose to depart based on good business practice leaving behind the disposed and obsolete. Empty mills, vacant housing and high unemployment, a product of a competitive market, became problems to the communities which inherited them. The growth and demise of the area was a result of the industrial revolution, all beginning in a small mill in Pawtucket Rhode Island with a man named Samuel Slater.

The Industrial Revolution resulted in mass production and the rise of the middle class. If the lifestyles of the wealthy were not available, at least the products were, as mass production reduced the price of fabrication and increased availability and disposability. Is a control period approach in historic preservation now viewed simply as a new twist on this old notion of commodification? Has the preservation field learned from the Industrial Revolution, developing the control period approach as a method to control environment, commodifying the essence of past human experience, or are we providing them with a means to learn about their past in a hands-on environment that stimulates and nurtures interest on a level to which the public can respond? In the

[15] Steve Dunwell, dustcover to *The Run of The Mill* (Boston: David R Godine Publisher, 1978).

process of creating these control period sites are we compromising accurate history to ensure customer loyalty and satisfaction?

As the lines between monuments, art, museums, amusement parks, and retail stores continue to blur, the methods of the preservationist will continue to be called into question, and the process of retaining our heritage, through any method, will need to be better understood for what it represents today and how those representations will impact the future. Preservation was born out of activism; however, in many cases, the field has been mutated into a design profession that strives to control the environment as much as it preserves it. Control period preservation cannot be judged in the present without viewing it as part of the history of the preservation movement. The method has been placed as a sub-category of restoration; however, often the results are not functional within the definition of a building, suggesting that we are not restoring the building but re-identifying the structure from a building into something else entirely. It is critical to understand the intention of the parties who see it as a viable example of the past and understand the different functions it serves for the human experience. We will examine these issues and allow them to help find an answer for the Pomfret Manufacturing Company complex as the once and future mill.

VISIONARY, ACTIVIST OR ROMANTIC

David Lowenthal writes in his paper *Age and Artifact: Dilemmas of Appreciation* that "awareness of the past is essential to the maintenance of purpose in life. Without it we would lack all sense of continuity, all appreciation of causality, and all knowledge of our own identity."[16] While there are wide ranges of forces (both individual and communal) which play upon our need to preserve features of our past, preserving is not just about *old*. Preservation involves the concepts of *uniqueness* and *irreplaceability*, two

[16] David Lowenthal, *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, 103.

qualities which are far more elitist and harder to identify, being dependent on the presumed accuracy of a source. While these two concepts are unique to each other, they are both values based on emotional responses which address different types of *value* associated with the object. Henry Petroski, a professor at Duke University who has written on the history of engineering states, "a new technology replaces an old technology with the promise of something. It promises to be faster or cheaper or easier, but not better."[17] The advent of technology and its promise of cheaper and easier, does not suggest that what it is replacing is unique. For people who choose to still use a fountain pen, instead of a modern ballpoint pen, it is not necessarily the *one of a kind* aspect of the equipment that makes the pen special. Although to some the value relies on the quality of how the pen works, others make the choice as a reaction to the advancements around them. Like the Luddites at the end of the 19th Century, some people react to change out of fear. Still others may choose the fountain pen because it has a story to tell, in which case the pen's history is of value to them. When values are used to make a choice, no one value is better or worse than the other; however, regardless of the choice made, the motivation for making it, is based on the individual's own value system and is unavoidably emotional and very human. Because of this it is just as likely that different people may choose the same option for different reasons, as they would each choose different options for the same reason.

Page one of James Marston Fitch's pivotal book *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* States that "the replica, an expression of handicraft production, has disappeared. The duplicate and the facsimile have, therefore become the standard expressions of modern industrial production."[18] During the course of the past hundred years, mass production has imparted upon us the sins of disposability,

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[17] Gareth Cook, "Retroactive: In an Age of Discovery, A New Generation Rediscovers the Charm of the Obsolete", *The Boston Globe* Feb 20, 2001 Health/Science section, 2.

[18] Fitch, *Historic Preservation*, 1.

replication, and replacability, resulting in both the careless disposal of the physical fabric upon which our culture was built as well as our presumed ability to replace it when it is gone. The reactionary attitude of the modern movement only increased the pace at which this destruction occurred; however, architects such as Robert Venturi in the 1960's, began to react to this anti-establishment approach by introducing the ideals of the post-modern movement. In 1962 Venturi wrote "the trouble with nineteenth century architects was not so much that they left innovation to the engineers as they ignored the technical revolution developed by others. Present day architects, in their visionary compulsion to invent new techniques, have neglected their obligation to be experts in existing conventions."[19] Venturi's insight of 19th century architects describes narrow-minded people who chose to ignore the effects of the industrial revolution, instead surviving on their aesthetic taste alone. As he points out, the reaction was a complete swing in the opposite direction. Mass production and modern technology became the inspiration for the modernist movement. Destruction of the older outmoded buildings became commonplace, resulting in a growing general belief that bits and pieces of our past were slowly eroding away. While some responded as Venturi did with a new vision for the future of new buildings based on the complexity of juxtaposed features, others responded with a new vision for our past. Preservation surfaced, serving not to introduce these architectural features across time into new buildings as the post-modernists did, but to prevent the total annihilation of the representative examples of styles which helped to create the complexity in the first place.

While architects continued to build new buildings through introduction, preservationists worked hard to save the old ones from being destroyed through retention Architects were the reactionaries responsible for the retrofits and the additions while the preservationists were the activists fighting to save the original. Some might argue groups such as the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association started the modern preservation

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[19] Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 43.

movement; however, the landmark event for the preservation movement was the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act. This act helped to prevent the cleansing process, creating methods of turning around the systematic elimination of our historic fabric. Preservation became the rebellious stepchild of the architecture field, and in doing so, has managed to protect large amounts of historic fabric which would otherwise have been destroyed in the name of progress. Unfortunately with the retention of these beautiful buildings came the unseen problems of outdated mechanical systems and failing structural elements which greatly reduced functionality. While many saw the obsolescence of outmoded buildings, preservationists saw the complexity of our cultural heritage. Not all who reacted to the need for protecting the older structures recognized the costs of maintaining them or the need to keep them functional. The noble responsibility of the preservationist was to guarantee the protection of the building, not the use of it.

TO WHOM OR WHAT IS OUR ALLEGIANCE?

Historic preservation plays a vital role in an effort to retain our cultural heritage but if no one recognizes the efforts, was the effort justified? This loaded question has no answer but it does remind people within the field that the profession is a service industry. The preservation goal is to provide a service which is only enhanced through public awareness, and one of the best recognized examples of Historic Preservation in the eyes of the general public is the control period approach. Many people in the United States have visited sites such as Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts, Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia, Mystic Seaport in Connecticut or even a tiny site such as the Laura Ingalls Wilder farm in South Dakota and have presumably learned about history by experiencing "first hand" how people lived in the past. While the approach is viewed by many in the preservation field as destructive and misrepresentational, it is an approach which has increased public awareness to the field of preservation, as well as ensured the

longevity for many old structures. Although much of preservation is done by unrecognized people in unknown locations, often the most prosperous sites are those that have made a decision to provide the layman with a view of a specific moment in time through the use of period of significance. Unfortunately the choice to use this approach often results in a weak product. These organizations often see the material presented as good for the general public. J. B. Jackson explains the general view of the public in regard to history and the past. "But with us the association seems to be not with our political historical past, but with a kind of private vernacular past- what we cherish are mementos of a bygone daily existence without a definite date. History means less the record of significant events and people than the preservation of reminders of a bygone domestic existence and its environment."[20] For preserving these reminders, the control period approach was ideal, erasing parts of a complete history in order to enhance the public perception of this bygone bliss. Removed was the evidence of the human struggle, providing the viewer with a sterilized serving of nostalgia instead of a cold dose of reality. We are left to wonder why we preserve our distant past and at the same time refuse to accept the conditions in which our ancestors were forced to live. We like the nostalgia of our past but not the discomfort which historically would accompany it.

To help preserve these mementos of our past for future generations, guidelines were set up to which preservationists could adhere. The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties provides four treatment approaches which include:

a) Preservation

b) Rehabilitation

c) Restoration

d) Reconstruction

[20] J. B. Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins and Other Topics* (Amherst MA: University of Massachusetts Press 1980), 90.

Of these four categories, the first two, preservation and rehabilitation, focus on how the chosen building exists in the present, while the remaining two acceptable treatments address the alteration of existing buildings. It is these two last categories, which give, rise to the notion of control period preservation as a method of presenting a historic site or structure. Restoration "depicts a property at a particular period of time in its history, while removing evidence of other periods" and reconstruction "recreates vanished or non-surviving portions of a property for interpretive purposes." Preservationists are responsible to uphold all four of these standards to ensure that the historic fabric of our country is maintained; however while these guidelines are meant to represent the decrees of Historic Preservation, they address issues which seem contradictory making it that much more difficult to know right from wrong.

Many other countries have policies that are used to help sustain cultural heritage but unlike the United States, there is a better appreciation by the public for their surrounding fabric as communal. As a result of our independence, the United States public maintains the perception that what belongs to the individual is theirs to do with as they wish. Our country was constructed on the principle of "freedom of choice", yet this freedom is often abused, resulting in the unnecessary destruction of our cultural heritage.

DESIGNED OBSOLESCENCE

Buildings, and the businesses which use them, are very different in their existence. Businesses exist on paper and in name, while buildings that house these companies have a corporeal existence that can exceed the life of a company or owner. A company that outlives its usefulness will fight to survive, either by adapting to meet new demands or moving to find a location where it is still needed. If this fails, it will simply cease to exist. A building, like a company, can outlive its own usefulness, however a building, which

does so, can not adapt, move, or cease to exist, without intervention of its caregiver. Stewart Brand suggests in his book *How buildings Learn* that the "three things that change a building most are markets, money, and water. If you would ensure a building's longevity, protect it from markets and water and feed it money, but not too much and not too little. Too much encourages orgies of radical remodeling that blow a building's continuity and integrity. Too little and the building becomes destructive to itself and the people in it."[21] While these three elements are all connected, they are not on equal levels with each other. It is the influence of the market and its impact on the building owner, which affects the other two elements. Without an owner, there is no money for work to limit water damage. Without the perfect balance between the building and the company which owns it, a building will eventually be left unoccupied initiating a phase of ruin for which J. B. Jackson feels is necessary to initiate change

The most common cause for any building to be abandoned is obsolescence. As time moves forward and technology provides newer better and safer building resources, existing fabric gets old and obsolete. If systems in the structure have not been updated on a regular basis the result is a structure that can no longer serve a function in a modern world. In some cases a building will be involuntarily abandoned, systems having failed to a point of condemnation. In other cases the building will be voluntarily abandoned, a result of a consumer's need for more modern facilities. While J. B. Jackson suggests that our primal time is our great-grandfather's era, our idea of a "modern" convenience especially in reference to mechanical systems, does not reach back this far. With both situations, the building has been placed into a state of non-functional existence. This non-functional existence can be defined as a structure that can no longer be called a building, but still exists. The Dictionary of Architecture and Construction defines a building as a more or less enclosed and permanent structure for housing, commerce, industry, etc., distinguished from mobile structures and those not intended for occupancy. The words

[21] Stewart Brand, *How Buildings Learn* (New York: Viking Press, 1994), 127.

"more or less enclosed" suggest the first fundamental function of a building, which is to provide shelter. The words "for housing, commerce, industry, etc." in turn suggest that the shelter is intended to allow for regular daily activities to occur within it. In the abandoned or non-functional state, the building now exists only as an object. For the restorer, this structure presents an opportunity to repair the problems using the resources available to him, to return the structure to service.

In the case of control period restoration, the function of the restorer is to consciously introduce obsolescence. Time alone can introduce obsolescence into aging buildings; however, for a period piece, the restorer consciously introduces the same conditions, and in doing so removes the building from service. Money, time, and energy have been spent to de-evolve the building, often into a state of non-functional existence. Now the building serves as an object retaining similar qualities to an art object or monument. Understanding that the structure in its contemporary context is no longer functional as a building, it is imperative to identify what role the structure now plays. Doing so will help provide a better understanding of the intention of the preservationist. Who chooses to employ a control date approach? Does the structure now become a monument, an art object, a museum, a white elephant, or all of the above?

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STRUCTURE

WHO ARE OUR HEROES?

To a great extent, American culture has destroyed its ability to find and idolize contemporary heroes. Where once sat the images of Kennedy to show us strength, we now have the petty back stabbing antics of the Washington "glitterati". Children choose to worship the figures they see in sports and movies instead of the men who make our country proud through the application of their higher moral standards. In the past we would memorialize these great people and the events they endured in constructions, which were intended to function solely as metaphors of their greatness. Their purpose was symbolic.

A symbolic approach to architecture is a major tool in developing a period approach for a building or site. This approach is specifically referred to in *The Revival Styles in American Memorial Art* as the 'commemorative arts'. As this book explains, the 'commemorative arts' found popularity in countries such as the United States, France and Great Britain and were primarily the result of significant social and economic change in the west during the 18th Century. At this time the western cultures shared a common architectural language, which was derived from the revival of stylistic features found in earlier western architecture as well as a new interest in non-western cultures. The development of the Industrial Revolution stimulated the rise of the American nouveau riche and a new interest in material manifestations of status and family heritage. Monuments became the source for expressing a common objective of perpetuating the memory or the ideals of family members, local or national heroes, or other culturally important figures. During this time the growing country reflected its pride and optimism

by creating monuments to the great figures that grew out of the years of settlement and revolution.[22]

The commemorative arts have dwindled in recent years, and the efforts of organizations who are attempting to raise symbols to groups, individuals, or events, most often find resistance from sides who disagree with the need for a monument. Since most commemorative work is in one way or another a public venture, requiring public land, money or support, opposition is frequent. There is always an argument in opposition, exemplified by the letters to the editor in the March 2001 Preservation magazine. Of the three letters written, all of them were negative in response to the design for a World War II Veterans Memorial. Readers stated that "Certainly there are better uses for the vast sums that make monuments possible", "The memorial is a piece of kitsch, a bad design, an eyesore, a waste of money, and in bad taste", and "The left over millions could have been put to far better use by Veterans Administration hospitals and retirement homes."[23] While three letters to an editor are not a complete picture of the American opinion, it does help convey the difficulty in creating a monument as a result of opposition. While the commemorative arts may have dwindled in the face of opposition and limited funds the desire to commemorate is still strong. Monuments aspire to provide a reminder of loss or change being built on top of memory. Preserving preexisting buildings is one way to create memorials while limiting opposition. Since the structure already exists, why not save it as a symbol of our pride to a specific event or person. Period of significance has become one method of providing a picturesque and nostalgic metaphor for these historic events. Unfortunately, as Lucy Lippard points out in *Lure of the Local,* "Most monuments favor mythology and are even further from reality than historic preservation. National and

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[22] Peggy McDowell and Richard Meyer, *The Revival Styles in American Memorial Art* (Bowling Green Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1994), 5.

[23] Robert Wilson, "Letters", Preservation March 2001, 8.

conservative forces are particularly fond of manipulating meaningful regional forms and histories to bolster their chauvinistic agendas."[24]

FUNCTIONAL vs. MONUMENTAL

An early reflection of this pride was seen in the monuments to such figures as George Washington. When the bodies of Washington and his wife Martha were removed from their earlier coffins and re-entombed in marble sarcophagi. The architect William Strickland was present and wrote an article about his experience during the re-entombment, which spoke of Mount Vernon as "the unostentatious but dilapidated mansion of Washington."[25]

It is well known that one of the first acts of historic preservation in the United States was the purchase of Mount Vernon in 1858 by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association. This patriotic group purchased the property with the intent "To perpetuate the sacred memory of 'The father of his Country' and with loving hands, to guard and protect the hallowed spot where rest his remains."[26] Here is clearly a reference to an intended monument to the memory of George Washington. This noble act of preserving Mount Vernon, which has provided countless people a view of Washington's home, immediately altered the function of the building from a country estate to a national monument and in doing so eliminated the structure's original purpose. The structure had been transformed from a building, which provided shelter for a function, to a monument for which it now existed as a metaphor for the greatness of George Washington. It no longer functioned as a house but took on the role of a monument disguised as a house. J.

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[24] Lucy R. Lippard, *The Lure of the Local, Senses of Place in a Mulitcentered Society* (New York: The New Press, 1977), 107.

[25] William Strickland, *Tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1840), 22.

[26] Gerald W. Johnson, *Mount Vernon: The Story of a Shrine* (Mount Vernon VA: The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association. 52.

B. Jackson explains that for a monument "the sanctity is not a matter of beauty or of use or of age, it is venerated not as a work of art or as an antique, but as an echo from the remote past suddenly become present and actual". Jackson emphasizes that the power of memorial is not about an esthetic quality but of their power to remind or recall something specific.[27] The result of the actions of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association was a change in the existing structure of Mount Vernon from a deteriorating mansion into a restored building which was to appear as it did during the years Washington lived there. The effort was intended to take a building in the 1850's, which had fallen into disrepair, and essentially change the existing building into a new building that reflected the appearance of itself, 75 years earlier. In this case, the efforts of the Association were similar to a designer who creates a new monument, however the substructure of the monument in this case existed in the form of a house.

Mount Vernon was transformed into a new monument to a chosen hero. While the structure is beautiful and is old, it was intended to remind or recall. In doing this, the viewer was not removed from the present and falsely placed in the past, but was allowed to reflect on the past from his place in the present. Lippard points out the most literal representations in monuments are banal and to the extreme, and while the choice of the Ladies Association may have been built on good intentions, it is apparent that the end result has never been "accurate". Writing about the preservation of Mount Vernon, Gerald W. Johnson wrote "Inevitably some mistakes were made in the early days. All sorts of objects were gratefully accepted and installed in the mansion under the impression that they belonged to Washington when- as later investigation revealed- they had no connection with him whatever. Others, perfectly authentic as far as their connection with Washington is concerned, had no relation to Mount Vernon."[28] Many

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[27] John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins and Other Topics* (Amherst MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), 91.

[28] Johnson, *Mount Vernon: The Story of a Shrine*, 58.

apparent issues such as these were fixable, however other interventions were not. A prime example was the introduction of a drainage system below the mansion that consisted of more than 400 feet of tunneling, resulting in a drier estate than Washington ever experienced. Although seemingly insignificant, this action created an unreal representation, but a change the author felt was made to avoid changes in the estate's "superficial aspect" While the author admits that the result is a site which is more solid than it was in Washington's day, he does not point out that Washington could never have experienced the new conditions. While the intention of the Ladies' Association was to recreate the estate, as Washington would have experienced it, the end result is not the same due to the anachronisms created by the introduction of modern technologies.[29]

The role of the preservationist becomes more important when the issue of conservation becomes more important than historic accuracy. Far more significant for Mount Vernon, were the issues of immanent deterioration for which a conservation choice was deemed more important. Regardless of the historical accuracy, the decision was made to execute the work in order to maintain the site for future generations. The impact on the public experience was negligible resulting in a more secure site without affecting the level of believability. This gray area ultimately becomes the problem when dealing with a control period approach. Decisions are often made which result in the alteration of historic fabric. The decision in the case of Mount Vernon was an intelligent one, which was executed sensitively, but not all instances will be so easy to understand, and not everyone will agree. Conservation may appear to contradict the historic value of the site in situations like this; however, conservators often look at the site in a more holistic way, concerning themselves not just with the historic value but the longevity of a site as well.

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[29] Johnson, *Mount Vernon: The Story of a Shrine*, 59.

H. Rainer Sasse and Rolf Snethlage spoke about the role of the conservator in their paper entitled *Methods for the Evaluation of Stone Conservation Treatments* pointing out that the conservator must reflect the aim of monument care in its purest sense. "The methods of conservation which preserve the material state of a monument and prevent further loss of substance therefore should have the absolute priority over all other measures..."[30] This statement best sums up the first issue of any preservation approach which is to preserve the future of the site first and then worry about the less important issues of control period accuracy.

IS IT ART?

Although the identification of a building as an art object in historic preservation seems somehow contrary to the intention of the field, the term can help to define another type of function for a structure, which has been adapted using a control period approach. The artist Gordon Matta-Clark who created most of his works during the late 1960's and early 1970's was well known for his "cuttings". The work he created involved cutting into existing buildings (abandoned), which to that point had remained vernacular and unpretentious in their appearance. His approach did not involve the use of expensive materials, but instead made architectural statements by removing sections of the structure in order to reveal existing, historic aspects of ordinary vernacular buildings. Matta-Clark was quoted as saying that he chose his sites by "the degree to which my intervention can transform the structure into an act of communication.[31] While Matta-Clark created artwork and not historic sites, he was trained as an architect and was aware of the importance of the history of a structure in his work. He intended to communicate this

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[30] H. R. Sasse and R. Snethlage, "Methods for the Evaluation of Stone Conservation Treatments" *in Saving our Architectural Heritage* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 223.

[31] Ann Goldstein and Anne Rorimer, *Reconsidering the Object of Art* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995), 101.

history by altering the structure in such a way that features invisible as a result of familiarity became noticeable as a result of his intervention.

The act of altering a structure in order to use it as a tool for communication, in this case is not so distant from the efforts of many preservation minded people who cut into existing, often ordinary, or unpretentious buildings in order to high-light the features of the structure which until then, were invisible as a result of previous alterations. The act of altering the building to create a tool for communication often follows the pattern of a control period approach. Like the preservationist, artists such as Matta-Clark found opportunities in communicating ideas through the found object by making the ordinary object, extraordinary. The similarity ends when we recognize that artists are inherently egocentric, and their motives do not require consideration of the object's total history unless it is important to their message. For artists, significance is not as much in the relationship between object and its history but the relationship between the artist and their viewer, (better known as a buyer). It is important for the viewer to know that the artist altered the object, and that his alterations were intentional. The concept of a monument clearly differs from that of art object. The monument is dependent on a collective cultural view of the past, which is not expressed as a history book approach but as a time in the past with no dates or names. The monument is metaphoric, intended to create a timelessness that transcends its designer.

An association of great events, places or people with any structure helps ensure its longevity, but it does not secure its identification as a monument. Whether or not this association helps to justify altering the structure to a specific moment in time is dependent on the presentation of the final product. While most monuments can be viewed as an art object of one type or another, not all art objects are monuments. Although memorialization provides connection and emotional value with the great events of the past, a line can be crossed where a structure has little or no association to the

collective memory of the viewer. Memory of the past is dependent on the present. Without an awareness of the present we would have no reference to past events. We are not able to know how long ago something happened without knowing what time it is now. This is the point at which a structure may cease to be monumental assuming the function of art object. By physically altering a building Matta-Clark attempted to communicate his ideas to the public, but he did not attempt to use these buildings as monuments to anyone other than himself. The work was his, expressing his egocentric views of the world around him. While the efforts of many preservationists seek to recreate the conditions of many great events, it is the vision and awareness of the preservationist which will determine the structure's fate as monument, art object, or even failure. It is the responsibility of the preservationist to always be aware of the present, including any conditions which will influence the future.

MUSEUM, MUSEUM OBJECT, OR BOTH

Museums have often been viewed by the public as the final word in matters of objectivity and are expected to provide the whole truth using their academic voice of authority. Unfortunately "just the facts" have never been truly objective. The documentation that is used to recreate the chosen moment in time will never be good enough to recreate the complete picture. Many control period efforts have become museums or at least act like museums in their final form. Can a control period approach function successfully as a museum or does the incomplete history overshadow the structure's ability to succeed? Ironically preservationists choose to recreate the past from the evidence available in the present. In doing this, they reintroduce features (either elements of the structure or objects within the structure) which, when originally placed, were placed for a very specific reason that is not consistent with the intention of the preservationist. The original builder built to create new while the preservationist labors to

retain old. To better understand the comparison it is important to consider the original builder in the context of today. If he were to build now he would not employ the methods and materials of the earlier period, but would instead use modern materials and modern equipment. While we cherish the skills and craftsmanship of the historic builder, it is more than likely that he would not build the same way if he lived today. The choices about what to use, why to use it, and how to use it, stem from a motivation of retention not new construction. Complicating the issue even more is the preservationist's act of removing a section of a building, which never existed for the people of the date to which the building is being returned. The preservationist has a view of the building unlike that of his predecessors and through the act of returning the building to a moment in time the structure changes from building to object. Robert Harbison states in his book *Eccentric Spaces* that "the act of museumifying takes an object out of use and immobilizes it in a secluded attic like environment among nothing but more objects, another space made up of pieces. It is the museum's efforts to make the chances of their acquisition look inevitable by even spacing, lighting and rigid historic sequences that produce the dull mental spaces which do not reflect the true character of the original space."[32] Harbison's summation of the museum applies directly to the idea of a period piece. Clearly the building has been taken out of service in a contemporary sense, but more importantly is the idea that a museum's effort to make chances look inevitable, result in a misrepresentation of the original.

Without a complete knowledge of what existed on a site and where it all went, why it was purchased or built, and how it related to the function occurring within the space; the placement of any part or object is unavoidably a museal act. A museum which strives to retain reality, inevitably produces unreality through the intervention of the curator or preservationist and the museological notion that the antique object maintains

[32] Robert Harbison, *Eccentric Spaces* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000), 142.

importance even if we no longer understand its meaning (and the older it is the better) pervades site preservation as well.[33]

An even greater confusion lies in the fact that a typical museum is never contextual to the pieces it contained. Often buildings being used to hold collections were built or adapted to function as museums. In the case of a control period approach, the period structure is an artifact itself, being not only the museum, but part of the collection. The rooms which in a museum were simply rooms, now function as more than just the container. They too are the artifacts and yet their appearance and their contents no longer convey the original totality of the space. Unavoidably public facilities must respect the rules of safety which govern all public spaces. In the context of a mill setting, any visitor can be made to understand that the room they are standing in once contained dozens of hot people working a set of dangerous looms which ran 24 hours a day, but it is impossible for them to appreciate that experience in a complete way without those conditions present. The existence of a haphazard collection of mill pieces in a room as a non-functional re-creation is an inaccurate picture for the viewer who often believes that what he sees is complete. Museums are the ultimate materialistic enterprise. Their primary goal is to replace the human quality with the object, removing life and thought with the hope that their efforts can immortalize the spirit of civilizations past.[34]

The control period method often follows a similar path, however the replacement of the human quality is more extensive. Instead of using only the object, the entire context in which the viewer exists has been replaced with a fictional representation of a moment in the past for which someone of that period never actually experienced. Often this example is based on available evidence which only provides a partial picture requiring additional embellishment to ensure the necessary total experience. Even when limited

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[33] Lippard, *The Lure of the Local, Senses of Place in a Mulitcentered Society*, 86.

[34] Hilde S Hein, *The Museum in Transition, A Philosophical Perspective* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), 51.

embellishment is used, the look of age is a problem which is often overcome through subtle changes which affect the perception of the viewer. "Distaste for the marks of age is far from universal; attachments to some things that look old, affections for certain patinas of age, are well attested. But such admiration is the exception: few old or long used features exhibit what anyone considers 'pleasing decay', and wear and tear usually portend loss of function, senescence, imminent demise- grievous or repellent states. We generally treasure relics more for being old-fashioned than for being old, and favor the look of youth even in things whose historical antiquity we prize.[35] The period approach is designed to retain the old but to represent it in the beauty of youth.

Historic museums including local historic sites make up more than half of American Museums. Knowing this, it would be wise for the people making the decisions to spend some time listening to the people around them. While many feel that the efforts of institutions such as Colonial Williamsburg and Sturbridge have diminished the value of history by becoming more "Disneyesque" the numbers of people who visit these sites are testament to their success. Although it is possible that the powers in charge of these sites are intentionally leading the public, it is more likely that they are following the desires which the public convey. While a place like Sturbridge Village builds a new tavern which will "Preserve the American Experience", other period-related sites that depend more on chronology and fact suffer from low attendance. The public knows what it wants and J. B. Jackson expressed that point when he spoke of our desire for the nostalgia of bygone days without dates attached. The field of preservation has had the tradition of aloofness and conservatism from the beginning. While we claim our primary goal is for the good of the public, the proud members of the preservation field who feel that truth is more important than enjoyment, and accuracy is more important than

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[35] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge England: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 127.

knowledge, convey an elitist attitude which scares away the public.[36] Period of significance has become linked with the destruction of the past because it chooses to eliminate features of a building which are inconsistent with the chosen control date. In the eyes of the preservationist, what it does create is often viewed as a generic non-specific product which waters down the total history of the building. If it's the public that the structure is providing for, then perhaps it is the public who is doing the teaching. Sturbridge Village, Williamsburg and even Slater's Mill see the importance of the visitor, and attempt to provide them with what they want. William Tramposch, The Vice President for Museums and Collections at SPNEA, has written an article which suggests that the vision of people in the heritage profession is not consistent with the public. "We continue to overlook the fact that learning in these settings is much more affective than cognitive in nature. That is, it is based more on moments, senses, sounds, and smells rather than upon fact and chronology."[37]

This lack of completeness is an accepted condition and therefore the museum effect is not completely wasted if the chosen approach tries to fill in the gaps. If we must fill in the gaps have we compromised the truth and in so doing, diminished the justification for our "restorative" approach? In contemporary society, ignorance truly is bliss and the measure of success is defined by the dollar. While the field of preservation has presumably learned from its past and escalated itself above presumed past failures to a higher purpose, it is often forgotten that our existence is defined by the views of the public. Preservation carries an elitist vision, and while it is presumed that the lessons from our past have provided a better understanding of the difference between right and wrong or at least provided the power to make the right decision, the result of this new

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[36] William Tramposch, "Mickeying with the Muses, Disney World and Regional Identity," Chap. 3 in *Sharing the Earth, Local Identity in Global Culture: Papers Presented at the Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention 1995*. (London: Donhead Publishing, 1995), 24.

[37] William Tramposch, *Sharing the Earth, Local Identity in Global Culture: Papers Presented at the Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention 1995*, 24.

view is a resistance to processes which alter or destroy historical fabric, regardless of a site's potential success. Extremes often become the norm in a field where decisions are based on reaction and where choices must be made correctly or not at all.

The museum interpretation is always the result of a vision of the principle curator, who most often attempts to create a perspective which communicates information to the public in a positive or compassionate light. Curators design an exhibit with satisfaction in mind, introducing theatricality or personal taste to express their vision, often compromising historic content for the sake of viewer satisfaction. Objectivity has been lost to the mission statement of a project which is intended to provide guidelines in creating a cohesive display. Regardless of the extent of reality, visitors to period sites still expect the "real thing" and believe what they see. Hilde Hein states in *The Museum in Transition* "The neologism 'museal' is applied to objects taken out of their lived environment and left, like goldfish out of water, to languish and die. I have argued that objects are reborn in the museum and acquire a new 'museum reality' as a result of their displacement."[38] From this vantage point, the museum does not fail by destroying the real significance of the objects in their collection, but transforms the objects from average daily objects to "museum" objects, endowing the objects with a new museum reality. While the object is old, it must be perceived as beautiful. The intervention by the curator or preservationist may be the source of what Hilde Hein was referring to as a new "museum quality" in the object. The object itself has not been changed, only the context in which the viewer sees the object has been changed resulting in a manipulated image which elicits new perceived values. The point is proven when, in another context the same object, would be viewed as junk. The object has not changed, just the given individual's perception, showing the inability for a period approach to convey a true sense of its original context.

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[38] Hein, *The Museum in Transition, A Philosophical Perspective*, 69.

OLD HOUSE OR FUN HOUSE

What is valuable and to what time should we save? How honest should the experience be and how far should belief be suspended? Often these issues are answered for us by public opinion that sets the tone for many sites in the heritage field. In the United States most sites that have been converted to a control date are owned by private institutions who need to be self-supporting. Certain periods in history are favored over others, and real value can often be misrepresented through notoriety, ease of identification or false association. For New England, the Revolutionary and Colonial periods as well as the Puritan Pilgrim ideals, are the dominant forces with respect to valued history, while the history of New England is long and complex, much of it is just not interesting to the public. More people visit Sturbridge Village with its colonial connections than visit Slater's Mill in Pawtucket Rhode Island. J. B. Jackson's notion of the golden era is played out here. While the colonial period in America may be older than our great-grandparents, the industrial revolution hasn't even ended. The significance of Slater's efforts on modern society is immeasurable and yet the experience of Sturbridge lends itself more to public desire because the colonial period has elapsed into a golden era, being elevated to the picturesque. Unfortunately the trend of period sites to ensure visitor-ship is to imitate the success of others. While Places like Sturbridge Village or Colonial Williamsburg refabricate the past, other sites feel the need to do the same to draw in visitors. Slater's mill has recreated a working machine shop in the mill which David Wilkinson created the first functioning textile machines: however none of the equipment would have been contemporary to Wilkinson and his efforts. The working machine shop creates a unique experience but compromises accuracy for the sake of stimulation. In situations where sites depend on revenue from ticket sales, many of the final decisions about content must be based on supply and demand. This is the point where sites can begin to take on the

novelistic or mythic quality which seems to be more synonymous with methods of managing amusement parks than museums.

The lines between museums and amusement parks have blurred. Is this okay? Does the need for sustainability eventually catch up with museums resulting in more entertainment and less scholarly documentation of the past, or have museums begun to apply new ideas to present old information? Museums have improved their approaches in an effort to reflect modern cultural trends. An old building is not a museum if it was not originally designed as such, and to preserve a building as a representation of itself at an earlier time in its history, often diminishes its original significance. Its function was once well defined by the intention of the architect or builder, and the changes it went through are part of its total history. Is the use of a control period approach justified? Keeping in mind that no building should be viewed as an independent entity, there are three basic courses of action to which we can apply our skills as preservationists and communicators 1) Leave the building as it is and accept any later changes in its status as a direct result of the decision, 2) Make the transition of the site complete, be honest about the choice, stand by the decision and live with it, or 3) limit the intervention, be honest about the choice, fill in any gaps (both literally and figuratively) with in-kind replacement and provide the viewer a potentially better, although some might say less accurate, experience. While other options exist, they are simply variables of one of these three choices. Through these decisions it must be determined if the new function for the building will serve the community in which it exists as well as the greater community as a whole.

Hale Mill was once a powerful and successful mill in New England. For almost 200 years it functioned as it was originally designed, but as the technological needs and the scale of the industry changed so did the building. Eventually the mill was shut down as the last remnants of a once powerful chapter in New England history closed. Now the building sits virtually empty with the exception of a small shop which the owner runs as a

side business until he can find new tenants. Clearly the idea of a museum was an option, as other mill museums were developed in other areas of the region, but it never happened. As the complex continues to age and elements of the structure move closer to a point of no return, could a period of significance approach work effectively, should it even be considered? Where should we go from here? Many questions arise when considering a site for period approach intervention and many of the answers suggest that there is history in the remaking.

COLLECTED DATA

Making a Choice

Many different issues must be considered when making a choice to alter a building using an extreme approach such as control period; however, the issue of efficacy is not answered solely by the choices made. The act of justifying the end product through extensive primary documentation or historical importance is not enough. It is imperative to consider outside issues as well that reflect more on the ideology of preservation as a field and how actions at a moment in history will affect the future of the chosen site. Assuming that time is frictionless (it neither slows or stops) then any action we take will result in the redirection of the history of the site. Like two objects colliding in space, our impact on the site, no mater how small, will result in the shift of direction for the site itself which will forever be reflected in the rest of the site's history. Accepting the fact that any or all actions will have an effect, how do our actions as preservationists differ from choices made by anyone else? While we believe we are saving the building, we often are not. How we choose to identify "saving" a building is what will determine the success or failure of a period approach. People who choose to intervene on a deteriorating building on a purely functional perspective, do so with the building's usefulness in mind but often do not consider the cultural value of its past. The opposing side to this position involves the individual who concerns him/herself with the historical value at the expense of functionality. Successful preservation requires considering both viewpoints; however, control period efforts generally struggle with the buildings usefulness, placing emphasis on historic value instead.

The Wilkinson mill complex in Putnam Connecticut was chosen as a test site to determine if the method can be applied effectively. As was outlined earlier, a set of five parameters were used to choose the site. Recognizing that a function as outlined earlier must be defined (monument, artwork, or museum antique), at least four separate issues are at stake when determining the efficacy of the method.

The first issue relates to the level of significance of the period, person, or event for which the building is being altered. When a significant figure or event is chosen, the decision is not always based on an accepted level of cultural literacy. It is critical to know the audience; often the person or event appears significant, but has not become an icon in society's collective heritage. The figure or event has not reached a critical mass of significance, resulting in a figure who is only known and appreciated by a small number of people.

The second issue relates to the likelihood of this period, event or person ever becoming significant enough to justify this type of intervention. Significance is dependent on cultural acceptance irrespective of true importance. It is not uncommon for a person of great importance to never be perceived as significant because the general public makes no connection to them. Ask anybody who was the second person to walk on the moon and most would not be able to answer. Neal Armstrong is universally recognized as significant because he was the first, while Buzz Aldrin is easily forgotten as the second. His walk on the moon was important, but his place in the pecking order does not make him significant.

The third issue relates to the value of historic significance. While some sites have limited historic value with the exception of the chosen event, other sites have a dense history which could have multiple significant periods overlapping each other. For this type of situation, picking a specific moment for the building may require demolishing

parts of the building which have significance for another reason. In this situation the acceptability of altering the structure is questionable.

The fourth issue is dependent on the outcome of the project. Can an effective solution be arrived at, which properly and accurately conveys the period to which the building is being restored? Documentation can provide a history of a site but it can never provide the complete history. Like a resampling of an audiotape, small pieces of the history are lost between each successive generation resulting in a copy of the original, which has lost its completeness, and often the documentation that was presumed to be accurate cannot be trusted.

From the building's total history, five dates have been chosen based on even increments of time over the total history of the mill instead of defined significant periods. Instead of picking significant moments, the total history of the site was divided into five even sections. Although significant dates are the source for making choices about altering a structure, any date chosen regardless of significance, is an arbitrary choice. Any time a control date approach is taken, it is a given fact that a significant issue is at stake. Often the perceived value of the moment will have a biasing effect on the people involved. In an effort to show the impact of altering a structure for a chosen date, non-significant dates were chosen so as not to provide a false sense of perceived value of the structure for any one date.

The entire site associated with the land holdings of Smith Wilkinson and his associates, and his successors vary considerably. One map of the town of Putnam dated 1835 shows that the holdings of the company at the time consisted of extensive land beyond the immediate surroundings of the mill. Most of what is now the central business district of the town of Putnam was once owned by the Wilkinson Company ***(appendix B-1 & B-2)***. This thesis is not about cultural landscape and it is not intended to deal with the obvious fact that every part of an extensive environment surrounding a site is historically

connected, focusing instead on the result of alterations to a set of integrated structures and their immediate surroundings. If the complete holdings of Wilkinson were to be considered, the argument of this thesis would be moot requiring the demolition of a major part of down town Putnam and the integration of dozens of privately owned structures.

1806

(Refer to architectural rendering - appendix C-3 & C-4)

The amount of information known about the appearance of the site in 1806, when the first part of the Wilkinson mill was constructed and brought into operation is very limited. Some secondary information is available from descriptions in Larned's *History of Windham County*, however the books were not written until the 1880's by which time Wilkinson and his family were no longer involved with the mill and the original wooden structure had burned down. Descriptions in the deeds ***(appendix A-4 & A-5)*** explain that the site originally consisted of more than one building when James Rhodes bought the land but the only one that was clearly identified was the gristmill which sat to the west side of the falls. All references to existing buildings are vague, however the survival of this gristmill into the early part of the 20th Century provides clear evidence of its appearance and location. This gristmill was not demolished when Rhodes and Wilkinson began their mill, but was used as part of the complex. The information related to its appearance was taken from photographs dated in the 1880's, which may not be accurate to the structure's appearance in 1806 when Wilkinson's mill was built. ***(appendix B-3).***

The original Wilkinson mill (no.2) was constructed of wood and was lost to fire at sometime between 1835 and 1855. The information about the original wooden mill is limited and is mostly taken from Ellen Larned's book. Deeds do not provide any clear description of the original mill, however the record books of the Pomfret Manufacturing Company at the Connecticut State Library provide some primary evidence ***(appendix B-***

9). Although the books are well kept, Wilkinson did not use them as a diary of personal accomplishment, so there is no specific reference to the building's completion nor of its design. All evidence available from these books is limited to business transactions and it is only through inference based on transaction types that the building construction can be assumed. Evidence from the site shows that the foundation of this wooden mill still exists below the no.4 mill, which allows us to determine the exact location of the building; however little else can be known with certainty ***(appendix B-23 & B-24).***

To recreate the 1806 mill based on available information, only the original mill and the gristmill could be included. While the deeds suggest other buildings on the site at the time, it is impossible with available information, to know their exact location or appearance. Some evidence could support building the other out buildings that surrounded the mill, based on the 1835 property map ***(appendix B-16 & B-17)*** including the large store (no.1) located on the north side of the building. Since mills required out buildings to store raw materials and surplus equipment, would we presume that the buildings were constructed during the first year of operation?

Demolition would be the most expensive part of the proposed project involving the destruction of more than 95 percent of the entire complex. The only feature on the site that would be 'original fabric' would be the foundation of the original mill. Reconstruction would need to be based on the limited information we have available which includes the number of floors and the primary construction material. Since so many mills of the early history of the textile industry reflect the design of Slater's mill, it would be a logical decision to look for images of other mills from this time period that were made of wood. The Harris Mill, (appendix B-13) also in Putnam and constructed shortly after Wilkinson's, was built of wood with similar dimensions and could be used as a guide.

1846

(Refer to architectural rendering - appendix C-5 & C-6)

Forty years after the original mill was constructed, other features were now present on the site, which reflected the growing industry. A second larger stone mill (no.3) had been added in 1824 and was located to the west of the original wood mill. While the two buildings were physically independent of each other from the beginning, by 1846 they would also have been functioning as two independent businesses. In 1835 Wilkinson and Rhodes split the complex into two independent companies, with Wilkinson getting the newer stone building and Rhodes retaining the original wooden structure. The new building (no.3) had a gable roof with trapdoor monitors and a bell tower ***(appendix B-15)*** making it very similar in appearance to the building that Wilkinson's brother and father built beside Slater's mill in Pawtucket ***(appendix B-68).*** This newer mill building was constructed of ashlar stone intended to ensure its survival. Fire had been an issue in the textile industry since it started, resulting in newer construction methods which were intended to prevent the spread of fire. The advent of this 'mill-type' construction, involving heavy post and beam with thick flooring is actually still recognized as a fire-resistant method of building in most US building codes.[39]

The fate of the original wooden mill is unclear for this date. It is known that the building was still standing as late as 1835 and that it had been replaced by a newer rubble stone mill (no 4) by 1849. Available information did not provide a date of the fire and with the chosen date of 1846 being so close to the 1849 replacement date, it is possible that the original wooden mill had burned by this time. Since no conclusive evidence is

[39] Arno P. Schniewind, Concise Encyclopedia of Wood & Wood-Based Materials, (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 1989), 109.

available which can tell the year that the no.2 mill burned, would we make the decision to keep this building or tear it down?

Evidence from the 1835 maps, which may or may not be accurate, show the existence of the store houses to the north and east of the two mills. Even with this evidence, the same problem exists for these buildings, which existed for the 1806 date. There are no images of what these buildings may have looked like making it all but impossible to recreate accurately. Fortunately a photograph from the 1880's shows the store building ***(appendix B-47)*** on the north side of the mill, but even this image may not be accurate for a representation of 40 years earlier.

Similar to the 1806 representation, demolition would be a major cost. For accuracy, all of these out buildings would need to be recreated, but only after the no.5 and no.6 additions as well as the no.16 office building were demolished. The no.3 mill would pose a large problem as well. This building originally had a gabled roof and bell tower, which were torn off in a hurricane in 1938. Following the hurricane, the building was patched but only a flat roof was restored. The bell tower was not rebuilt since mills no longer needed bells to let the workers know what time it was. Clearly a large percentage of reconstruction and demolition would need to take place on this portion.

Based on available evidence, the only buildings, which could be standing with 100 percent certainty, would be the no.17 storage building and the no.3 mill. All other buildings may have either been demolished, destroyed by fire, radically altered, or not yet constructed, providing a very unclear image for reconstruction.

1886

(Refer to architectural rendering - appendix C-7 & C-8)

Reconstructing the site 80 years after the mill was first built would actually require more reconstruction of lost buildings than the 1846 representation due to he number of buildings built after this earlier date but since destroyed. Fortunately this date would also allow for greater retention of existing fabric as well. The original wooden mill would be gone by this time having been replaced by the present no.4 mill.

In 1855 the town of Putnam was incorporated from portions of three neighboring towns ***(appendix B-5 & B-6)*** all of which had contained portions of Wilkinson's original property. The Wilkinson mill property, by 1886 was once again reunited under the ownership of one company having spent 40 years under separate ownership. A new rubble stone mill (no.4) was built in 1849 replacing the lost original wooden structure. Two extensions to this newer building were added at some point between 1835 and 1855 (no.5), and 1855 and 1870 (no.6) respectively. This gapping in dates is the result of incomplete history, which can only provide enough information to define spans of time instead of specific dates. Additional buildings which provided support for the two main structures were constructed during these intervening years as well, including the soap house (no.8), the dye house (no.9), the picker house (no.10), the pump house (no.11), the machine storage (no.12), a second picker house (no.13) and two additional buildings on the south side which are no longer existent and whose function is unknown (no.14 and no.15). Of these added buildings, many of them are still standing, making it easier to recreate the chosen date. Unfortunately many of them have been altered since they were originally built requiring substantial alterations for accuracy.

The no.3 mill would be standing but would require the roof and tower repair discussed in the previous date. At some point in the history of the site, the no.4 mill also lost its decorative tower top requiring a complete reconstruction of this feature. Available

images provide clues to the design of the tower top but the images are blurry, which would make it difficult to be certain of the finished design. Solid evidence is available to prove that the no.14 and no.15 building would need to be reconstructed, but in order to do that the existing powerhouse would need to be demolished. The existing HAER report suggested that the no.16 mill office building and the no.7 mill building were both constructed in 1869, which might require leaving these buildings standing. Fortunately the existing 1870 property plan and the 1869 and 1877 birds eye views ***(appendix B-7, B-26, & B-45)*** show the no.7 mill standing, but there is no guarantee that the office building had been built. An available photograph dated 1889 shows the new no.7 mill but no office building. Should we demolish the existing office building in order to reconstruct the storage building? The dormers on the south side of the no.7 mill would need to be rebuilt as well as the entire north side of the roof and the accompanying tower involving extensive alterations to one of the largest portions of the complex.

Fortunately the no.5 and no.6 additions, which are presently standing, would not need to be destroyed as they would have in the previous control dates. The extra tower on the front of no.5 ***(appendix B-28)*** would have to be removed and a top added to the remaining portion. The existing evidence for this tower top is extremely limited and would require extrapolation. Would we try to recreate what we thought was there or use another building for an example?

1926

(Refer to architectural rendering- appendix C-9 & C-10)

By 1926 a much larger percentage of what exists today would have been built, allowing for the retention of still more original fabric. Unfortunately many of the elements already discussed, would need to be recreated. The tower and roof on the no.3

mill would need to be rebuilt as well as the tower top on the no.4 mill. Much work was done just before 1926 including the possible complete reconstruction of the millrace for the no.3 mill. For accuracy some demolition would still be required, including some of the more unique features. Both the main power station (no.19), which was built in 1936, and the dyeing and blending house (no.24), which was added in 1950, would need to be destroyed in order to allow for the reconstruction of the no.14 and 15 unknown buildings. The most significant feature of the complex, which would need to be demolished, is the large addition to the north side of the no.7 Victorian mill. This addition consisted of two sections, which were built after 1945 and added considerable floor space to the work area. The construction of these additions required the demolition of the dormers originally located in the mansard roof of the no.7 mill as well as the north tower, which would need to be reconstructed for an accurate representation.

Other smaller features would need to be destroyed as well as reconstructed. The existing bridge (no.25) (the most unique feature to the complex), built between 1937 and 1945, as well as the shipping shed (no.28) built in 1945 would need to be demolished, while replacement chimneys would need to be rebuilt in front of the two picker houses. These chimneys would have been square in design and can be seen in photographs from the late 1880's ***(appendix B-42).***

1966

(Refer to architectural rendering- appendix C-9 & C-10)

Aside from the present, this date is the latest set of conditions to be considered. While much of what existed in 1966 still stands today, some features were altered after 1966, which would require recreation for an accurate representation. The chimney added in 1936 with the power station, was shortened by almost 100 feet in the 1980's and

would need to be rebuilt ***(appendix B-66 & B-67),*** while the tailrace on the back of the building was changed in 1970 to accommodate a large set of tanks most likely built due to stricter environmental laws. At some point between 1970 and 1983 the dormers on the south side of the no.7 Victorian mill were lost due to neglect. This Victorian building, which once contained more than 60 dormers, now contains less than one quarter of the original set. This feature alone shows the excessiveness of a period approach. While the building continues to function as a building, a large amount of the 'original' fabric has been lost either intentionally or through neglect. Of the 200-year history of this site, only the last few years would require minimum intervention. Cost is clearly the issue. Is the cost of recreation really worth the limited return and can the loss of historic fabric be justified?

IT'S IN THE DETAILS

Significant dates are not difficult to identify and associated value can be fabricated to ensure presumed historic integrity. The dilemma which makes accurate representation difficult is in the details. No building is ever stagnant, constantly changing from day to day, yet the large-scale changes are inevitably the ones which become the benchmarks for identifying significant dates. Whether it is a person, an event, or an alteration on a building, a single occurrence becomes the point in time which all else must play a subordinate role. Unfortunately the smaller changes which seem to play such an insignificant function, are the elements of a building which convey the complex history of human interaction and which are the most difficult to trace on a time line. Because of this, they are often erased for the sake of the larger picture. The Wilkinson mill site has a vast amount of these small changes which are visible on the level of detail, and while they may not be seen as important based on the scale of the site, they begin to draw into question how accurate a final image could be. Potentially thousands of these small

features exist. These features include elements which have been changed leaving scars or ghosts behind which often can be seen clearly but seldom accurately dated. These important details are also frequently erased for the sake of interpretation, but which can return to haunt the site years later when evidence is found which proved that elements demolished for the project should have been retained. One of the most apparent examples of these minor details is the change in the bell tower on the no.3 mill. Four historic photographs show the bell tower, but two different tops exist. Records in the Aspinock Historical Society suggest that the images were all taken in the 1880's or 90's; however none of the images are dated, reducing the ability for an interpretation to be accurate. This problem is only compounded by each one of these inconsistencies in the images, reducing the guarantee even farther.

In the case of alterations which are apparent on the present structure the same questionable accuracy applies. The dormers on the no.7 mill are shown in a historical image with 2 missing on the eastern end of the south side, however the modern image shows a dormer in this last position asking the question of when the extra dormer was added. Compounding the problem is the absence of most of the original dormers. Should the dormers be replaced, and if so, should the remaining historic dormer be removed for the sake of accuracy? Although these two examples clearly show the problems, the number of similar situations is extensive. A small infill ***(appendix B-71)*** exists on the south side of the building between the 1924 powerhouse and the no. 7 mill, which was built to fill a hole, but for which a clear date may not be available. This type of vernacular alteration is not an exception but a norm. Windows and doors were changed, and roofs were altered for the sake of progress, all expressed in patterns, which now exist as our source for the historical truth. As the needs of the industry changed, so did the physical features of the building. Among these changes are mixed the clues which distinguish them from the original 'original' fabric from the unoriginal 'original' fabric ***(appendix B-***

70). It is the truth we seek, but are we willing to accept the fact that the truth is never fully conveyed through a period approach? What are the costs of these losses for later interpreters who may have a better insight but who will not be provided the evidence as a result of our insistence for a period piece?

CONCLUSIONS

IS THE BUILDING SIGNIFICANT?

The factory or mill was one of the few new building forms added to western architecture between the Renaissance and nineteenth century.[40] The history of mill architecture in the United States is extensive, ranging from the earliest gristmills, to contemporary textile mills, but it is the textile mills and their relationship to the industrial revolution which isolates them from the general term 'mill', placing them into the area of industrial building. The mills of New England are a unique hybrid between the typical quaint flourmill with its water wheel, and the modern automobile factory that produces hundreds of vehicles a day. This hybrid stems from a set of different forces each adding their own unique qualities. Samuel Slater as well as other immigrants from England had grown up with the basic formula for factory design in England which was employed in the first permanent mills in the United States. These British influences as well as the vernacular qualities of the local masons, carpenters and millwrights who built the buildings were all a part of the designs of these early mills. Like the flourmills, the earliest water powered textile mills in United States reflected the shapes of houses or churches, these being the buildings for which most builders were accustomed to making. Although larger in scale, the mills used standard post and beam construction with a gabled roof and the traditional bell tower, which notified town employees of the beginning and end of the workday. (Ironically it was the indiscretion of the mill owner and his bell, which prompted the introduction of the similar town hall clock or bell tower which would let people know actual time and not mill time.)

[40] Dunwell, *The Run of The Mill*, 24.

As the industrial revolution grew, so did the mills. New mill construction no longer depended on the methods employed in house construction but adopted the latest methods of design for the times. These new buildings became larger and wider. The incorporation of fire suppression was critical, and the old bell towers became enclosed water towers which could hold cisterns for the sprinkler systems. Fires broke out in mills frequently inspiring the development of new fire control methods. The newer styles no longer looked like the traditional gristmill but reflected the current trend in modern industrial architecture, maximizing space by placing stair towers and water closet towers on the outside of the building form. Mansard roofs allowed for maximum use of the top floors and dormers replaced the older trap door monitors. The textile industry had become America's first integrated industry and the buildings reflected it. No longer just a tiny collection of machines, companies were producing hundreds of thousands of feet of thread a day.

The history of architecture of the textile industry reflects the growth of the United States from an agrarian society to a large-scale industrialized nation. By 1810 there were 238 mills in the country and by 1859, just 53 years after Wilkinson built his mill, 896 mills were in operation. The rapid growth of industrialization exemplified by the textile industry was part of a rapid expansion of the country and textile manufacturing was the leader in providing the best and worst examples of American mechanization.[41] While many old mills reflect this important trend, are they all significant? Smith Wilkinson's mill was one of the first mechanized cotton mills in the United States but it was not the first; an honor bestowed upon Samuel Slater's mill. It does reflect all of the major trends in New England mill architecture from the 1824 ashlar stone mill to the 1950 dyeing building, but in most cases, stylistic features have been lost on the buildings, reducing their significance. The original 1806 wooden mill burned before 1855 and much of the

[41] Dunwell, *The Run of The Mill*, 51.

distinctive features of the 1824 building were destroyed in the 1938 hurricane. This building once adorned with a gabled roof as well as the unique trapdoor monitors and bell tower which rose above the gables, was damaged by a storm resulting in the loss of these features. The roof and bell tower were destroyed and never replaced and now the building sits with a flat roof, while the remnants of the bell tower are virtually invisible behind vinyl siding and the shipping shed. The no.3 replacement for the wooden mill has the most original integrity, however its distinctive tower top was lost, leaving only a truncated enclosed stair. The no.4 mill had an additional tower connected to the side of the original tower, producing an unusual but not tradition look to the front of the building. The no.6 mill off the southwest end of the complex, once a proud Victorian, retains its mansard roof only on one side due to an addition in the 1940's which required demolishing a section of roof to allow for a proper connection. Unfortunately this remaining side of mansard roof, which once contained over 25 individual dormers now has only five. Clearly much of what would be considered significant to the qualities of historic mill architecture have been lost, either intentionally or through acts of god, resulting in a building which contains only parts of all the great trends.

WAS THE PERSON SIGNIFICANT?

Of the men who owned the building, prominence can only be bestowed on Smith Wilkinson. While all of the people involved in the history of the building were important, it is only Wilkinson who could carry enough cultural significance to justify a period approach. Smith Wilkinson and his family were powerful figures in the early period of the New England textile industry. Smith's father Oziel Wilkinson was one of Samuel Slater's earliest co-workers and associates, helping to get equipment functioning for Almy and Brown. When Slater began to develop his own business, David Wilkinson was with him as one of the co-owners. Smith Wilkinson's brother David was responsible for

creating the first industrial machine shop which built textile equipment and is credited with major early developments. The restored Wilkinson mill in Pawtucket Rhode Island, part of the Slater Mill Historic Site, was where David had his shop, producing equipment for Slater as well as others as the industry grew. Smith began work in Slater's mill at the age of ten as one of Slater's first child employees. This practice of hiring children was common in the early years of the industry but would later tarnish it with the enactment of child labor laws as a direct result of child employment conditions in the mills. Samuel Slater would eventually marry Smith's sister making the connection that much stronger, but even with these important connections was Wilkinson significant? While the entire Wilkinson family may have had a combined greater impact on the textile industry, it is unlikely that Smith Wilkinson could ever develop the required mythical qualities to ensure an honored position in the cultural lexicon.

COULD THE STORY BE TOLD CORRECTLY AND ACURATELY?

If the entire complex of buildings, which consisted of everything developed from the mills earliest days to the present, were combined into a single large complex it would consist of over 1100 acres in the greater Putnam area, including most of the central business district. This land originally contained extensive farmland, many mill houses, and outbuildings on both sides on the road as well as the rights to the river. When Smith Wilkinson began his mill in 1806 he chose to follow in his mentor's footsteps a result of which Wilkinson proudly held the position of patriarch of Pomfretville. He owned most of the land on which present day Putnam sits and was responsible for the schools and stores for his employees. This complexity could never be recreated or translated into a modern interpretation without converting the vast majority of the modern community of Putnam into a living re-enactment. The mill complex and its immediate surroundings, although much smaller and more manageable could be no easier to convert to a

Wilkinson related period piece. Any effort earlier than 1849 would require the demolition of the no.3 mill and the reconstruction of the original wooden mill for which the design would be conjectural at best. Smith Wilkinson died on November 5, 1852 leaving only 3 years after the construction of the replacement mill for interpretation. All other parts of the complex would need to be demolished with the exception of the no. 2 ashlar mill which would need a new roof and bell tower.

It would be impossible for all of the cumulative elements of the complex to be contained in one single point in time. By the time the last major alteration of the mill had occurred in the 1980's with the removal of the top 1/3 of the rear chimney, much of the land which had been accumulated by Wilkinson and Rhodes had been subdivided and altered as the town of Putnam continued to grow. The north side of the road in front of the mill was land used for mill housing and while many of the original mill houses still exist they are now privately owned, having been sold off from the complex years earlier. As has been proven with the example of chosen dates, this mill complex could be recreated to specific points in history through demolition and reconstruction, but it would be impossible to ever tell the total story. People events and moments would all be swept under the rug for the sake of one point in time or the life of one individual.

Although images could be created that would reflect the presumed appearance of the mill at any given time in its history, it could never reflect the complexity found in the layers of past human endeavor, which provide the site its richest component. While Slater's mill is a wonderful example of what a New England textile mill looked like in 1828 ***(appendix B-11),*** it possesses a certain sterility due to the lack of subtle nuances. These nuances, although small, occurred far more frequently than the large-scale additions and reflect the density of human interaction with the building. Still visible are the small brick patches and ghosting from past building components each representing an intentional alteration to the structure. The glorified approaches discussed earlier, which

create museum quality objects out of historic structures, erase these reminders of human scale interaction. The replacement of windows, the incorporation of doors and the linkages between the decades all show a depth to the site that could never be found at Sturbridge or Williamsburg where clean perfect buildings act as supermodels of past lifestyles which could never have existed.

One additional feature added to the Wilkinson mill complex in 1942 exemplifies the unique relationship of old and new while also showing the difference in values between a building owner (mill operator) and the preservationist. The shipping shed (no.24) is a simple unattractive element built above the driveway which passed in front of the no.3 mill. Its builder did not take into consideration the symmetry of the older mill, placing it off to one side of the old bell tower ***(appendix B-69).*** Its location was based on its proximity to the main street and the mill while its placement above the driveway ensured that vehicles could continue to pass beneath it. Any person entering this one story elevated box did not have to move from one level to another, as they passed through this shipping shed over the driveway and into the no.3 mill. Although this addition resulted in the loss of a coal shed marked on the 1937 insurance survey, an existing need resulted in it construction. Unrelated and therefore insignificant to the employees at the time, was the history they spanned passing through the doorway from the shipping shed into the older ashlar building. This small step spanned 118 years of history from the earliest work of Smith Wilkinson and his associates through the greatest and most prosperous period of the New England Textile Industry to its demise and disappearance, ultimately revealing a historical completeness that is invisible in sites that have been sterilized and repackaged for the education of the general public.

COULD IT HAPPEN?

Considering the fate of the site without considering the conditions of the surrounding community is narrow minded. Although guidelines have been developed to help ensure the integrity of historic structures, they do not guarantee it. A well trained member of the preservation field might question the logic of using a site such as the Wilkinson mill complex as an example to prove the efficacy of a control period approach, attempting to argue that no site like this would ever be subjected to this method of Preservation, however there are no controls to ensure the building's survival as a complete unit. The site is not registered and even this would do little to guarantee its chances of survival. The concept of value to a developer is based on a dollar figure not integrity and many developers would not blink if the entire complex were demolished in the name of progress. Assumptions are made that people in the preservation field have enough integrity to not alter an existing complex such as this but other examples exist, which prove otherwise. The Slater mill is one example for which the control period approach was employed at the expense of other parts of the structure, and while historic fabric was lost for the sake of a control date, the resulting site is popular and well appreciated by the public. Understanding that historic sites which use a control period approach are popular with the public can often swing the balance (and the wrecking ball) in favor of employing extreme measures. Many towns throughout northeastern Connecticut have suffered greatly as a result of closed mills, and revenue is always a strong motivator for change.

As the area continues to grow and the threat of urbanization heightens, the potential for demolition increases. Riverside property is always a valuable commodity increasing chances of the building's demolition The bigger issue is whether the building could ever function as anything else without going through major changes resulting in more extensive loss of the historic fabric. The chances of the building ever being used again as a mill site is extremely thin. Because the buildings were built over such an

extended period, many of them could not meet code requirements and their relationship to one another creates a space which could be difficult to reconfigure for a single company. Unfortunately no building can survive on memories alone and the potential loss of the Wilkinson site, due to its continued deterioration, may be enough to justify a period approach. The problem is that the site might just not be important enough to ensure its success.

THERE'S HISTORY IN THE REMAKING

The complete history of the building is best told through the alterations visible in the structure and not in associated events, which only exist as recorded memories and provide far less evidence of the complete picture. Carelessness can result in the complete and total annihilation of large parts of building history all for the sake of a moment in time. The people who lived in Putnam and worked in the mill through its long history are mostly nameless but the synergistic quality of all of their efforts through the 195 years of the mill's existence provide the site a depth of history which can never be recreated for an audience. By altering the structure through a period approach, the building would be removed from service, becoming a collected object, and in doing so, erase the functionality of the building as a building. Some people view the option of a control period approach as valid and justified, and in some cases it can be, but it must be executed with extreme caution, keeping in mind that the remaking of the past is part of the total history of the building.

Buildings suffer the fate of abandonment all the time and a period approach can ensure a building a future in such situations. Unfortunately the loss of history through a period approach can often be worse than loss through neglect. Histories of structures which are rewritten through a period approach, often become distorted versions of the truth. Either intentionally or unintentionally, histories which are used on these sites can

become peppered with myths and misinformation which results in the perpetuation of false facts. The last private owner of the Hale Mill was responsible for the reduction in the height of the smoke stack and when asked why it was reduced he explained that it was due to deterioration in the mortar holding the stack together. Interestingly the change has also unintentionally been attributed to a way around paying taxes, which were based on the height of your chimney. One or both of the stories are fabrications, creating myths which provide the public with a unique story instead of the truth. At least when history is lost due to negligence, it is saved the pain of being told.

FULL DISCLOSURE!

Any situation where alterations are necessary for the sake of interpretation requires a large amount of disclosure. Preservationists seem to work hard to create what they believe to be the truth and yet all of what is created in some way is a lie simply by being taken out of context. While the preservationist feels a commitment for retaining valued aspects of a structure such as original fabric they seem to have no over-riding commitment to disclose the alterations or the small intentional oversights which result in an inaccurate presentation of the past.

Like the creation of dinosaurs in Jurassic Park, where a doctor chose to fill in the missing data with small white lies which eventually backfired, preservationist can either intentionally or unintentionally choose to leave out parts of the complete picture in the name of customer satisfaction. Preservation depends on a wide range of fields for its information and yet often standards set within these other areas are not used within the preservation field. Conservators must record all data and information regardless of the results. Full disclosure is critical for a successful effort. Changes, which are adopted in the name of visitor satisfaction, need to be disclosed for interested parties. Williamsburg

has often been criticized for keeping its site too perfect or not representing the African-American culture. While it should not be forced upon the visitor it should be easily accessible for those who are interested.

WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES?

Multiple use could allow a historic site as well as a modern functional space on the same site. Some of the complex could be brought up to code compliance with limited efforts, and accepted levels of intervention could be developed for the site, which would ensure that some of the overlapping history is retained. Buildings which possess such rich history have in the past been viewed as likely candidates for some type of intervention; however advances in computer technology, can help to limit the extent of loss by introducing a viewer to the history of the complex through electronic means. A Similar to the drawings created in this thesis, programs such as AutoCAD, 3-D Vis, and Photoshop can provide a more complex representation of the history of a site without any physical intervention at all. Layers within AutoCAD allow for specific years to be represented which can be overlaid in order to point out not just the representation of a control date, but also the extent of change a site might need to go through in order to recreate that moment. It is critical to remember that the loss of fabric is the easiest way to forget the past. By intentionally demolishing past fabric for the sake of a moment we are condemning alternate pasts to oblivion. Web sites can allow visitors to gain knowledge of the site prior to visiting. Sites can be viewed from angles, which were never before possible, all without changing the site in question. Historic images, often having limited exposure as parts of collections, could be easily accessed through the Internet, allowing visitors to see different historic phases. Three-dimensional rendering could create virtual tours of a site, creating different examples of the history of the site. With this type of

technology there would be no fear of later discovering that the chosen history was wrong, since demolition would only exist as part of a computer rendering.

Multiple versions for the Hale Mill site could be developed based on competing evidence, which could show viewers the different potential versions of the mill, allowing viewers to arrive at their own conclusions. Technology has allowed for full disclosure and provided the viewer a way to make their own decisions based on their own informed choices. Sites, which have traditionally undergone control period approaches, have often lost great amounts of integrity for the sake of clarity. Often the public's inability to interpret existing conditions was seen as the impetus for demolition, but new technology provides methods that eliminate some of these problems.

Regardless of the advances which reduce this potential threat, people will still continue to use the method and the public will still continue to support it simply because they can. In an article from Yankee Magazine entitled "If you Lived Here you'd be Dead", the author succeeds in expressing this fact by unintentionally pointing out the inherent commercial nature of these period sites. In the article about the Lizzie Borden Bed and Breakfast, Howard Mansfield states that "In 100 years the murders at 92 Second Street have passed beyond crime into a cottage industry of conferences, a quarterly journal, Internet chat rooms, documentaries, mock court trials, a Broadway play, a ballet, an opera, and the growing field of murder tourism."[42] The general public finds entertainment in the myths of our past and people will continue to exploit this fact through commodification. Presumably no one is being hurt in the process however, history is being compromised for the sake of customer satisfaction. We are simply rewriting history and changing bits and pieces of the "real" fabric of the past to satisfy tourism. Supply and demand dictate the direction of many parts of the preservation field and as long as there is a desire from the general public for the period approach there will

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[42] Howard Mansfield, "If You Lived Here You'd be Dead" Yankee Magazine, April 2001, 92.

continue to be suppliers who are willing to use the method to communicate the past regardless of the cost on original fabric.In his writing entitled *The Social Landscape*, J. B. Jackson stated, "Now we have begun to search for identity in other ways; and more and more we are inclined to manipulate the environment, use it as a tool for creating our identity."[43] Viollet-le-Duc said that restoration was a new idea; a process, which involved reinstating a building to a condition, which never existed before; a process of manipulating a part of the existing environment. By connecting the thoughts of these two preservation minded authors we can begin to see why control period approaches are so popular and why they are often executed with bad intentions resulting in a tarnished image. Retro is very much of a modern concept but or willingness to accept discomfort is incredibly limited. Each successive generation reviews the previous, with a hope of discovering the qualities which best exemplify that period while at the same time attempting to justify their position as more advances culture. This process is inevitable allowing us to compare ourselves with our own past in an effort to justify our actions. It is these recognized qualities from the past, which evoke nostalgia in the present but which also provided each preceding generation with their own identity. 100 years from now it is very possible that people will look back on our generation and find that our most lasting quality was an obsession with every time period which came before us.

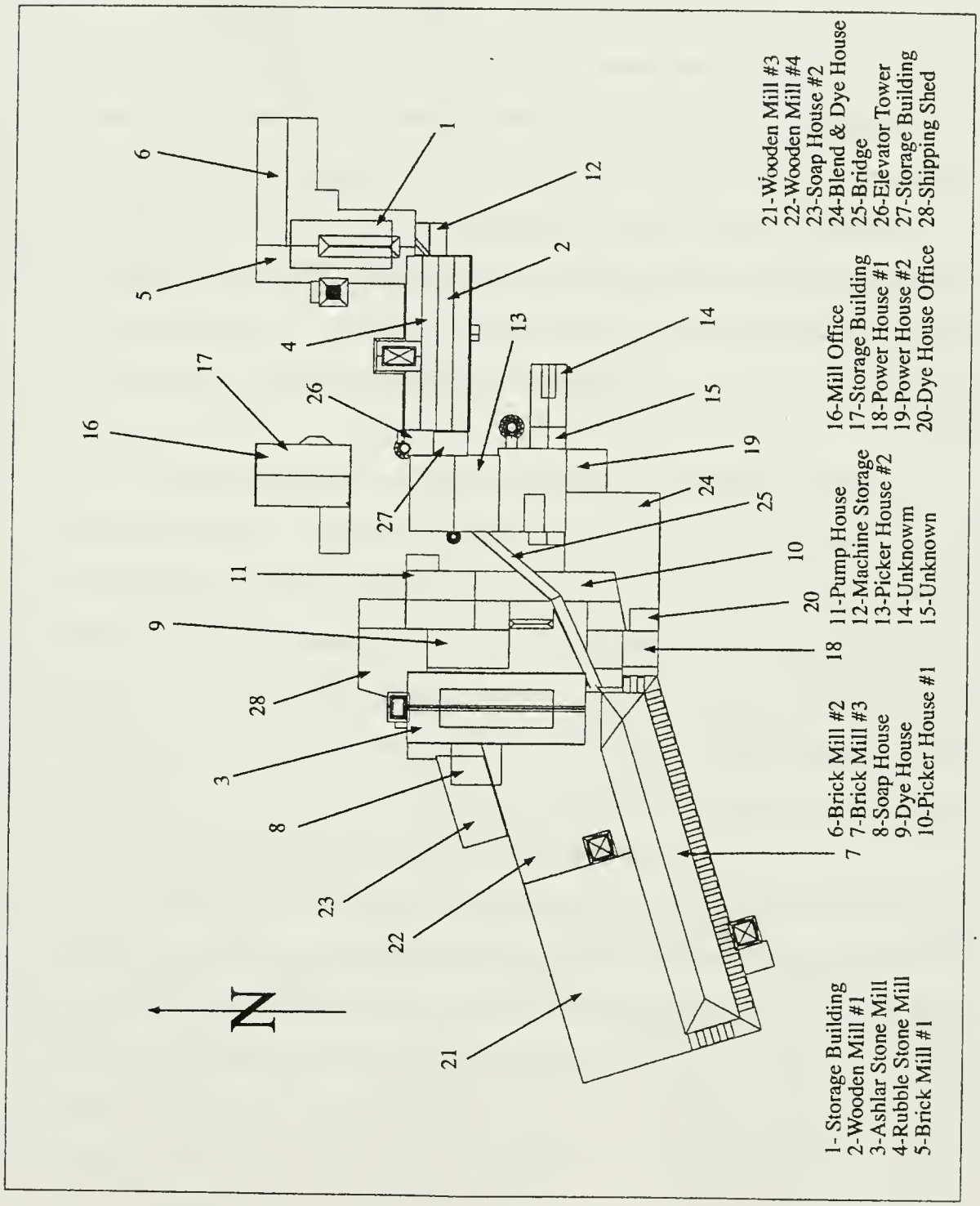
[43] Jackson, J. B. *Landscapes, Selected Writings of J. B. Jackson*. Ed. Ervin H. Zube. (Boston: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1970), 147.

Building No.	Building Function	Const. Date	Demolition Date	Known Alterations
no.1	storage building	pre 1835	1835-1855	unknown
no.2	mill	1806	----	unknown
no.3	mill	1824	----	Loss of roof 1938, north wall penetration for shipping shed 1945
no.4	mill	1849	----	Loss of tower top date unknown,east wall penetration for elevator tower northwest corner penetration for addition 1835-1855
no.5	mill	1849-1855	----	Addition of extra tower on west elevation, penetration for addition 1855-1870
no.6	mill	1855-1870	----	None evident
no.7	mill	1855-1869	----	Loss of south tower and dormers 1945,loss of south dormers 1970-1983
no.8	soap house	1869-1870	1945	Unknown
no.9	dye house	1869	----	Possibly replaced in 1924, additions to roof date unknown
no.10	picker house	1869-1870	----	East wall window replacement date unknown
no.11	pump house	1869-1870	----	North wall doorway infill date unknown, reworking on south façade date unknown
no.12	machine storage	pre 1887	1955	Lost in 1955 flood
no.13	picker house	1877-1884	----	West wall reworked when bridge installed 1937-1945
no.14	unknown	1869-1877	1880's-1938	Demolished
no.15	unknown	1869-1877	1880's-1938	Demolished
no.16	mill office	1889-1895	----	windows bricked up. date unknown addition on back date unknown
no.17	storage building	pre 1835	1889-1895	Unknown
no.18	power house	1924	----	Addition of exterior passage on south façade 1970
no.19	power house	1936	----	West façade windows filled in date unknown

Building No.	Building Function	Const. Date	Demolition Date	Known Alterations
no.20	dye house office	1889-1944	1945-1950	Demolished
no.21	mill	1877-1944	----	West façade clad in metal date unknown
no.22	mill	1945	----	Alteration to north façade due to soap house addition
no.23	soap house	1944-1955	----	Unknown
no.24	blending and dyeing building	1950	----	Unknown
no.25	bridge	1937-1944	----	Unknown
no.26	elevator tower	1880's-1945	----	Loading dock removed after 1970
no.27	storage building	1880's-1945	----	Unknown
no.28	shipping shed	1945	----	Unknown

COMPLETE SITE PLAN 1806 - 2001

(Appendix A-2)



WILKINSON MILL CONSTRUCTION HISTORY *(Appendix A-3)*

The following description of the history of the mill site contains information, which is based on available documents. The intention of this description is two fold. Its primary function is to develop the most accurate time line possible based on the available documentation and while there are clear references to discrepancies, the intention is to allow this given history to be assumed accurate for applying chosen control dates. The second function of the building history is to show these inaccuracies in the available information, proving that a truly accurate image is impossible.

The first primary documentation of the land as it is related to the original owners of the Wilkinson mill is a deed dated April 26th 1805. ***(appendix A-4)*** This deed outlines the transfer of the land from John and George Harris to James Rhodes who was a partner with Smith Wilkinson ***(appendix B-8)*** and an initial financier of the project. Rhodes paid $7,500 for the land and the water privileges.[44] Although most of the deeds are vague about the history of the structures on the land, this first deed makes reference to "the mills on the west bank of said river" indicating the existence of buildings on the land prior to the construction of the first phase of the chosen complex.

These early mills belonged to Captain Cargill for which the falls in the river at this location still retain his name ***(Appendix B-3 & B-4)***. Cargill's mill was a gristmill, which would continue to be operated as a gristmill following the sale of the land to Rhodes. Wilkinson was clearly influenced by his mentor Samuel Slater, choosing to use similar practices. The system, which employed both adults and children to operate the mills, later known as the Rhode Island method, involved offering a complete lifestyle for the families

[44] Pomfret Deed Book 10, Pomfret Town Hall, 10-11.

of mill employees including housing shops and services. While children would labor in the mills, fathers would tend the company fields. Smith Wilkinson would continue to use this gristmill for its intended purpose after his textile mills were in full operation as part of the service provided for the employees. While this building would not survive to the present, a map dating from 1870 ***(appendix B-70)***, a photograph from 1888 ***(appendix B-3)*** and a 1937 insurance plan ***(appendix B-73)*** all show that this grist mill still stood after the Wilkinson family had completely divested in the complex.

James Rhodes, together with several members of the Wilkinson family officially organized the Pomfret Manufacturing Company on January 1, 1806 for which Smith Wilkinson was appointed agent, a position which required he prepare the land, procure the stones for the foundation and the timbers for the frame.[45] Although no documentation exists which indicates the actual construction of the building, the Pomfret Manufacturing Company Memorandum and Contract Books which were kept by Wilkinson, show several citations related to the acquisition of large quantities of materials including five thousand board feet of lumber on both the 14th and 23rd of June 1806 ***(appendix B-9)***.

Secondary documentation shows that the first mill building constructed by the Pomfret Manufacturing Company was begun on July 4th 1806. Wilkinson chose July 4th 1806, taking advantage of the holiday "It is said that two thousand persons came together, many of them from a considerable distance, either to assist or to look on and that free punch was furnished for all."[46] The building was constructed of wood and consisted of four stories on a footprint of 100 feet by 32 feet. No known images of the building exist that would show the appearance of the structure which was lost to fire between 1835 and 1855; however, the influence of Samuel Slater's Mill would have been significant. Like the machinery and organization of the Slater venture, Slater's mill became a case study

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[45] Gary Kulik, Roger Parks and Theodore Z. Penn. *The New England Mill Village, 1790-1860*. Vol. 2 *Documents in American Industrial History*. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1982), 195.

[46] Kulik, *The New England Mill Village, 1790-1860*, 195.

for new mills built by his trainees, associates and competition suggesting that the Wilkinson mill in Putnam could have looked very similar to the Slater design.[47] This matter is only complicated by the fact that no known first-hand drawings exist of Slater's structure. Although Slater's mill was recognized for its importance shortly after it was built in 1793, the earliest known drawing of the Slater mill is a conjectural image dating from the 1820's at which time the original 29 by 43 foot building had been enlarged to a T configuration with a cupola over the center wing, much as it appears today ***(appendix B-10 & B-11)***.

Fortunately the Putnam area grew quickly as a mill village. Other companies saw the opportunities on which James Rhodes and the Wilkinsons were capitalizing. Images of wooden mills built shortly after the construction of the Pomfret Manufacturing Company still exist such as the Harris Mill located within five miles of the Pomfret Manufacturing site ***(appendix B-13).*** The Harris mill, which no longer exists, would have been influenced by the Pomfret Manufacturing Design and may be the best example of what Wilkinson's first structure could have looked like. Smith Wilkinson's wooden mill (no.2), the first cotton mill in Windham County and only fifth in the country, was set into operation on April 7, 1807 and was an example for dozens of other companies in the Quinebaug Valley.

By 1824, The Pomfret Manufacturing Company was prospering. The second building for the company was constructed to the east of the original building consisting of a six story ashlar stone building with a foot print of 91 X 38 feet. Although no primary documentation provides a construction date, the date stone of the building shows the year of 1824 ***(appendix B-14)***. By this time in the history of New England mills the expected return for any manufacturer in the industry had increased and fires had proven to be extremely destructive. Lint in the air of the factories at the time, along with the

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[47] Steve Dunwell, *The Run of The Mill.* Boston: David R Godine Publisher, 1978), 25.

combustible material of choice for construction, led to many fires. The mills owner quickly realized the value of masonry construction, which led to the first major change in basic mill construction. The 1824 building constructed by the Pomfret Manufacturing Company still employed the early traditional appearance of a gabled house design with a peaked roof, trapdoor monitors for lighting in the attic, and a bell tower which also functioned as the lift for the cotton bales to the upper levels ***(appendix B-15)***.

The earliest recorded reference to the initial layout of the Pomfret Manufacturing Company property is an 1835 map which shows, from west to east, the location of the lot with the no.3 ashlar mill, a store (no.17), the no.2 mill, a second brick store (no.1), an unknown building, and finally a shop. Each building appears to stand independent of the other, and while the outlines of the buildings are provided, neither their functions nor their construction dates are included ***(appendix B-16)***. Unfortunately the only available copy of this 1835 map is a 1942 tracing. In the lower left hand corner of the map a note dated 1942 states "This plan was copied from an old blueprint-Courses and distances are not guaranteed- several sections of the print were too faint to decipher figures." According to this statement, this map was copied from the original resulting in a secondary document which may not be accurate. The last part of this 1942 citation refers to the title of the map which is dated 1867 and reads as follows " Represented to be the original city plat (so called) in division of the Pomfret Manfg. Co. Estate 1835" suggesting that the original map was only a recollection of the original holdings of the company. While this map is the earliest suggestion of the complex layout, the map is actually a copy (2001) of a copy (1942) of the original (1867) which was a recollection of the land holdings of 30 years earlier (1835) making it difficult to be certain of the accuracy of any of the information.

While the quality of the information is questionable in this map, an even more modern recreation exists ***(appendix B-17)*** which is just as suspect. These two

representations of early maps help to show the difficulties of finding reliable data. The 1942 tracing of the 1835 map is the best source of information for the early site layout, and yet a modern map from Gary Kulik's book, claiming to be drawn from information of the same year, is clearly different in its site layout. This modern recreation map (with no reference to its data source) found in Kulik's *The New England Mill Village, 1790-1860*, has produced a set of buildings around the no.4 mill which more resemble the present layout than what is seen in the 1942 tracing. Since both of the maps are modern recreations, and clear inconsistencies exist, it is impossible to prove that one is more accurate than the other without more documentation. Without more evidence, it may be impossible to find an accurate representation of these early buildings and their layouts. All cumulative knowledge of the land and the buildings prior to this 1835 date is limited to the existence of the no.2 wooden mill built in 1806, the grist mill and its surrounding structures which was existent when the property was purchased, and the outline of the property, all based on the deeds. Unfortunately the deeds themselves, provide only limited written clues and cannot give a definite answer to the problem.

The year 1855 saw the incorporation of the town of Putnam. Until this time, the actual land owned by Rhodes and Wilkinson was partially located in the three adjoining towns of Pomfret, Killingly and Thompson ***(appendix B-5 and B-6).*** The area around the Pomfret Manufacturing Company grew quickly and became the center of commerce for all three of these towns. The incorporation of Putnam was motivated by the difficulties associated with three individual towns having to agree on decisions about their primary areas of commerce. By this time Smith Wilkinson had died and the job of running the mill had been passed to his son Edmund. An 1855 map showing the new town of Putnam, is the next primary document available to indicate the pattern of layout for the mill site ***(appendix B-18)***. The map shows the outline of the no.3 mill (A) as well as the outline of a building in the same location of the "old" no.2 mill (C). The gristmill is still existent

and clearly linked to Wilkinson. Added to the building located on the no.2 mill site is an ell (D) which was not included in the description of the original building. This map was drawn to show off the new town which had just been incorporated. As a showpiece, the map was decorated along the edges with images of significant features in the community. Fortunately one of the features represented is Cargill falls and the site of the original Pomfret Manufacturing Company. While the image does not include the whole complex, it does include the building located on the "old" no.2 mill site. ***(appendix B-19)*** Secondary information indicates that by this time the original no.2 mill had burned and a new (no.4) building had been added on top of the original foundation. A fire insurance survey from after 1950 ***(appendix B-74)*** suggests that the building in this location was built in 1849 to replace the original. A comparison of the earliest photographs from the 1880's, with a contemporary picture clearly shows the no.4 mill to have been the same structure which stands today ***(appendix B-20 & B-21)***.

William Bagnall was an early historian of the textile industry and in 1896 he compiled a set of short histories of several different textile companies, including the history of the Pomfret Manufacturing Company. His account states that "The Messrs. Dorrance continued running the mill till the early autumn of 1855. The old mill of wood had burned in the mean time and a larger mill had been erected."[48] This no.4 mill, built on the footprint of the original wooden building, was constructed of rubble stone instead of ashlar. The 1855 print ***(appendix B-19)*** from the map suggests a gabled roof similar to the one found on the no.3 mill ***(appendix B-15)***, however it does not indicate trapdoor monitors. These early skylights, designed to provide illumination to the upper story were a very common feature in early mills which depended on natural light. Although both the 1880's and contemporary photographs show a flattened roof, a gabled roof without the

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[48] William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (1893. Reprint New York: Augustus M. Kelly Publishers, 1971), 423.

trapdoor monitors could have existed making the building look similar to the Ballou cotton mill just up river ***(appendix B-22).***

Physical evidence suggests that the original foundation of the wooden mill was used for the no.3 mill. The insurance survey of post 1950 ***(appendix B-74)*** shows the no.4 mill with a footprint of 100 X 31 feet, which is consistent with the dimensions of the original wooden building. An apparent seam is present at the division of the basement and upper portion of the building, and infills of stone show the location of earlier windows. These windows were located at the connection between the stone foundation and the wooden structure, intersecting the two materials. The stone used for the no.4 mill descends into these "U" shaped openings in the foundation like teeth, erasing any possibility that the window infill was an afterthought ***(appendix B-23)***. An inconsistent window configuration on the eastern edge of the south facade provides more evidence that the foundation and the upper building were not built at the same time. This unique feature is incorporated into the 1855 drawing as well helping support Bagnall's claim that a new building had been constructed by the autumn of 1855.

The 1855 map also shows the addition of an ell (no.5) connected to the no.4 mill. This latest addition is the oldest brick structure in the complex and is reflective of a newer trend in mill architecture. The windows are larger and the building has grown wider than its predecessors ***(appendix B-28 & B-29)***. While all three of the earlier buildings averaged 30 feet, this newer building expanded to 40 feet. The 1855 image shows that this building also had a steep gabled roof, however a close inspection of the contemporary picture shows a very low-pitched gable instead. Window patterns on the 1855 print are not consistent with present patterns, however there are no signs of reworking in the mill walls to accommodate window replacement. No record indicates that another building ever existed in this location before the no. 5 mill was added calling into question the entire validity of the 1855 image. The 1889 photograph ***(appendix B-20)***

shows the roofs of the two mills being consistent with the contemporary image further emphasizing the uncertainty. Similar to the problems associated with the 1835 maps, accuracy is called into question. Although several deeds, and maps from both 1835 and 1855 exist, there is still only circumstantial evidence for the pattern of the mill complex layout.

In 1887 Putnam created a birds eye view of the entire town showing the extent to which the town had grown to in the 80 years since Wilkinson had started his mill ***(appendix B-27)***. This print shows the no.3 mill with its gabled roof and trapdoor monitors, as well as the newer no.4 rubble stone mill with its distinctive water closet tower attached to the south facade that was seen in the 1856 image ***(appendix B-31)***. The no.5 mill shows a tower similar to that found on the no.4 mill, which may have functioned as a toilet tower as well; however, contemporary images of this side of the no.5 mill show no signs of any tower or evidence of demolition ***(appendix B-52)***. This Image also includes the store located along the main street just north of the mill which was seen in the earliest map. Along with these known existing features are additional portions of the complex which we can only assume were added between 1855 and 1887.

In the 1870 property map ***(appendix B-7)*** the small building east of the no.5 mill, which was present in the 1855 image, no longer exists, replaced by a much larger ell off the end of the no.5 addition. This sixth addition is visually identical to the no.5 mill in every respect; however, a vertical seam divides them on the north face, supporting the notion that the two buildings were built at separate times ***(appendix B-32)***.

The 1887 birds eye view provides more detail than any of the preceding information available. The print includes a seventh component located on the western end of the complex, which was the largest addition to the complex ***(appendix B-33)***. This no.7 mill, outlined in the 1869 town map, reflects the latest trend in mill architecture of the day with its mansard roof and extensive number of dormers to light the attic

(appendix B-34). For most of the components of this complex, this view of Putnam offers the first visual record of what the buildings actually looked like. All other evidence (with the exception of the 1855 image of the no.3 mill) to this point has consisted of outlines of buildings represented in maps, providing us with footprints but no sense of appearance. While we can place the construction date of the no.7 mill to before 1869, we have no way of knowing what it looked like until an 1877 birds eye view and this 1887 image. Styles had radically changed, and the older "house style" mill with its gabled roof gave way to the modern industrial building of the day. This brick addition, which was wider in footprint than its predecessors, measured 43 feet across and diagonally to the layout of the other earlier buildings on the site. The no.7 mill was three stories high including the attic with two towers located on both the north and south sides of the building ***(appendix B-35 & B-36)***.

The complex had been divided into two different companies by this time which continued to function independent of each other. The portion, which included the oldest existing no.3 mill and the newest no.7 addition, functioned as Harris Woolen Mills while the no.4 mill, no.5 mill and the no.6 mill now functioned as the Saxon Woolen Manufactory. In October of 1835 Smith Wilkinson and James Rhodes split the complex into two independent companies. Wilkinson retained the No.3 mill complex while the no.4 mill complex was given to Rhodes. The Wilkinson family would never again have working interest in this no.4 section of the mill property and would never have involvement with the construction of its replacement.[49] This division between the buildings would remain for the next 40 years until 1875 when the Putnam Woolen Company would eventually recombined the buildings under one company. The cotton mill which Wilkinson and Rhodes had set up was now defunct, having been changed completely to woolens. While the two factories were functioning independently of each

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[49] William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (1893. Reprint New York: Augustus M. Kelly Publishers, 1971), 423.

other, they each needed support and the buildings located between them consist of picker buildings, powerhouses and storage.

The Harris Woolen Company, which owned a mill across the river, had purchased the no.3 Mill from Edmund Wilkinson in 1864 and immediately equipped it for woolen manufacturing. An addition (no.8) to the west of this mill functioned as the soap house, where soap was manufactured to clean the oils from the wool. A map of Putnam dated 1869 does not show this soap house but a property map from the following year does. While this is evidence to suggest that the soap house was added on during the intervening months between the drawing of the two maps, the accuracy of the 1869 map is questionable. While it was intended as an accurate map, it included the entire town and could have easily been drawn without attention to details as small as the soap house. The comparison of these two maps shows other sections of the mills which had not yet been constructed in 1869, but were evident in 1870. These buildings include the pump house (no.11), the picker house (no.10), and the dye house (no.9). A date taken from the post 1950 insurance survey suggests that the dye house was built in 1869 which might explain its absence from the 1869 image ***(appendix B-56)*** It is very possible that the company chose to undertake extensive building during this short period of time in 1869-70, constructing all of these buildings at the same time but the is no way to be certain. The earliest appearance of the soap house in a map was the 1870 property map, which was done for the Harris Woolen Company. The decision to make a map at this time may have been a result of new construction on the building, which needed to be documented for legal reasons. The 1880's photographs include a view of the soap house, allowing us to know what it actually looked like ***(appendix B-37)***. Although it is possible that this small addition was built with the original mill, the need for the soap house was only critical to the wool manufacturing process, suggesting otherwise. The race way which fed the water from the river to the wheel for this portion of the mill, ran to the east side of the no.3 mill

releasing water back into the river after running beneath a dye house. The post-1950 insurance plan shows that this dye house (no.9) was built in 1869 however a picker house (no.10) and a pump house (no.11) which are connected to it on the east ***(appendix B-38)*** are not dated and no known dates are available. A 1920 Sanborn map lists this pump house as a boiler room, only increasing the confusion ***(appendix B-76)***.

By 1887 when the birds eye view was created, this section of the property contained new structures which had not appeared in any previous documentation. The image shows a small addition to the east end of the no.4 mill which on the 1937 insurance plan is indicated as machine shop storage (no.12). This small building is visible in several different images during the history of the building however its original construction date is not known ***(appendix B-40)***. Recent site analysis has shown proof based on past window evidence that it was not built at the same time as the original wooden mill; however, there is no way of knowing at what point between 1806 and 1887 that the small building was added. The contemporary image shows that this addition no longer exists, having been torn off by the waters of a flood in 1955 ***(appendix B-39)***.

In the birds eye view, to the west and south of the no.4 mill, is a set of low detached buildings as well as two smoke stacks ***(appendix B-41)***. It is unclear from this 1887 image, which of the two independent mill operators owned the buildings, however the 1870 property map which was drawn for the Harris Woolen Company ***(appendix B-7)***, outlining only the buildings they owned at the time, does not include these additional structures suggesting that they belonged to the owners of the no.4 mill complex instead. The evidence gleaned from the comparison of the 1860 town map and the 1870 property map shows that the Harris mill was adding onto the no.3 mill. It is possible that the neighboring Saxon mill had added buildings on for similar reasons. The 1869 map does outline an extension off the southwest corner of the no.4 mill which could be these added buildings suggesting they were part of that mill and not the Harris Mill. The original

function of these buildings is difficult to pin point and the use of the buildings through the history of the site is wide ranging. Of the four buildings in question, only one of them is known to still exist and is described differently in three separate citations. The building (no.13) is listed in the 1920 Sanborn map as a picker house while it is listed in the 1937 insurance plan and the post-1950 insurance plan as storage ***(appendix B-74)***. The post-1950 insurance plan suggests that its construction date was 1884. The other three lower buildings do not appear in either the 1920 Sanborn map or 1937 insurance survey and no know date of construction or demolition is known; however they are not the makings of a creative etcher since two of them (no. 14 and 15) show up in some of the earliest photographs from the 1880's.

An 1877 birds eye view, drawn from the west, provides some evidence but must be considered as a secondary source at best ***(appendix B-45)***. The 1887 birds eye view showed the town and mill from the south allowing for a comparison of a different angle on the complex, however the 1877 image has a variety of inconsistencies which draw it into suspect. Comparing this image with the 1887 image does help shed some light on the layout of some of the property, including the existence of the two lower buildings mentioned above ***(appendix B-53b)***. Unfortunately in the 1877 birds eye image the buildings appear side by side instead of end to end as they do in the 1880's photograph ***(appendix B-44)***. Further areas of discrepancy in this 1877 image include the tops of the towers on the three earlier mill buildings, which seem unreal when compared with other evidence. This print does include the new no.7 mill on the west end of the property depicted with a single north tower. The 1870 property map also includes only a single tower while the 1887 print includes two, suggesting that the south tower was added after the original construction date.

The earliest photographs of the mill, taken in the 1880's are extremely valuable for understanding the history of the complex. These photographs provide the first actual

views of the site, which verify existing conditions without any doubt. Unfortunately of the eight available images, only two of them have specific years associated with them, while the other images are placed in a range from 1888 to 1895. Two of these eight images help to narrow down the construction date of the mill office (no.16) building which replaced the no.17 store house ***(appendix B-47)*** and in the process, draws into question the validity of an existing 1989 report entitled *Significant Mill Towns in the Quinebaug River Watershed.* This report dates the mill office construction to 1869 along with the no.7 mill; however, an image with a date of "89" written on it, showing almost the entire complex (including the no.7 mill), clearly shows the original store in the background ***(appendix B-53a)***. The 1889 image is 20 years later than the construction date suggested by report. The information for the report is identical to an existing NAER inventory report produced in 1980 for the U.S Department of the Interior Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service and helps to show the perpetuation of inaccurate information which results in inaccurate representations of control period sites. This 1889 photograph also reveals the existence of features which were seen in the 1887 birds eye view but were drawn into question when compared with the 1877 birds eye view. The picture clearly shows the two low buildings (B) placed end to end, shown in the 1869 birds eye view proving their existence as early as 1869.

Looking to the east of the Victorian mill building in this 1889 image reveals the back ends of both the dye house (no.9) and the picker house (no.10). The dye house which, according to the post-1950 insurance plan, was constructed in 1869, was only one story high, and connected perpendicular to the east end of the Victorian mill at approximately the middle of the wall ***(appendix B-48).*** A chimney above this dye house is visible in the image, however it would be removed and the back end of the dye house covered up by the construction of a powerhouse built in 1924 (no.18)***(appendix B-49)***. This new powerhouse, located at the down stream end of the dye house, sat directly above

the raceway which had been rebuilt the same year. While the powerhouse is located at the bottom, of the dye house, the date stone for the raceway is located on the upstream end drawing into question how much of the original dye house was removed when the raceway was rebuilt beneath it ***(appendix B-50)***.

The insurance survey dated January 15, 1937 provides more clues to the history of the complex but also discredits the validity of some of the other available evidence. This 1937 survey provides both a plan ***(appendix B-73)*** view as well as a perspective view ***(appendix B-72)*** seen from the southeast and offers the opportunity to attribute feature to a "before" or "after", relative to the date of the survey. Beginning on the west side of the complex, the first variation from the 1889 photograph is the power house mentioned above, attached to the south end of the dye house. A part of the mill which did not survive long, based on available records, is a small dye house office (no.20) located to the east side of the picker house, which was not present in the earlier images and will no longer exist in the post-1950 insurance plan ***(appendix B-74)***.

The most startling change between the two images is the loss of the low buildings along the river which were discussed earlier. Although the demolition date for these structures in not known, it is presumed to have been around 1936 when the powerhouse (no.19) was constructed in the same location. This new powerhouse and its red brick chimney were not visible in the earlier photographs and a date stone confirms the construction of 1936 ***(appendix B-51)***. Other changes evident in the 1937 insurance survey include the loss of the tower top on the no.4 mill, the remaining machine storage building to the east of the no.4 mill, the additional tower on the front of the no.5 mill, the inclusion of an entry extension on the west end of no.7, and the loss of the square chimneys that were attached to the two picker houses. Additionally the water closet tower shown attached to the back side of the no.5 mill is no longer present, replaced by a larger

tower located in the corner where no.5 and no.6 mills connect and present in a contemporary image ***(appendix B-52)***.

The Putnam Woolen Company created a land elevation survey of the entire complex lot in 1944 ***(appendix B-54),*** which included the outlines of their structures. While the survey is very simple, its reveals inconsistencies which further discredit the dating of the buildings in the post-1950 insurance survey. The 1937 insurance survey showed the no.7 mill sitting as it was originally constructed more than 60 years earlier with its two towers on either side, and the original soap house which still exists as it did in the images taken at the turn of the century. By 1944 the new survey reveals the incorporation of an additional mill section (no.21) located on the northwest corner. This portion incorporated over 13,000 additional square feet to the mill plan and was located along the north wall of the no.7 mill between the west side of the tower and the far northwest corner of the building. Adding this required the demolition of at least part of the mansard roof and dormers on that elevation allowing the addition to fit tight against the building. This 1944 survey shows that the gap remaining between the no.4 mill and this new addition remained vacant with the original soap house still in place. A key map to real estate of the Putnam Woolen Company dated only one year later, reveals a change showing this void now filled in completely ***(appendix B-55)***, resulting in the loss of the rest of the mansard roof on that elevation as well as the demolition of the north tower.

The dates of the post-1950 survey suggests differently ***(appendix B-74)***. While the survey plan shows the lines of division between no.21 and no.22 wood mills, the attributed date for both additions is 1938. While it is possible that the first addition seen in the 1944 elevation plan could have been built in 1938, the earlier plan negates the likelihood that the second part was also built at that time. Ironically the post-1950 survey suggests that the new larger soap house (no.23) ***(appendix B-58)*** which replaced the no.8

soap house was built in 1943; one year earlier that its predecessor was presumably torn down.

The final historical source of information on the mill is the post-1950 insurance survey plan which has been referred to often. Although the exact date of the survey plan is not known, it shows the latest construction date as1950 for the blending and dyeing house (no.24) located to the east of the no.7 mill ***(appendix B-59)***. This mill is a single unit now, but it was not until this portion of the complex was added on, that the two mills appeared united into a single building. Although this additional blending and dye house was a feature which made the complex appear as a single (although chaotic) complex, it was not the first feature that allowed employees to move from one set of buildings to another without leaving the building. This credit goes to a closed-in bridge (no.25) ***(appendix B-60)*** which was built between the first level of the store house to the west of no.4 mill and the third floor attic space of the no.7 mill. This bridge, spanning more than 100 feet, changed elevation by running from the first floor of one building to the third floor of another. It did not connect in a straight line between the two buildings, running over the roof of the picker house at an angle, and then switching slightly to the north before entering the no.7 mill. While the bridge is unique, the reason for building it was most likely very practical. Unfortunately it is one of the latest additions to the complex dating between 1937 and 1944 and subsequently would be one of the first elements lost to a control period effort.

While the bridge was one of the most unique features, it was not the most recent. An elevator tower (no.26) was added between the no.4 mill and the old picker house to the west ***(appendix B-61)***. The gap, which once contained a chimney between these two buildings, was now closed. An additional portion of building was added behind this tower to fill the rest of the gap and a small loading dock was incorporated onto the rear of it located in the back corner behind the elevator tower (no.27). The exact dates for these

additions are not known at present and no gathered documentation has yet revealed this information; however, an image from a survey conducted by Richard Candee for Sturbridge Village in 1970, reveals the presence of all three of these features.

The purpose for the 1970 Sturbridge survey was to document New England textile buildings before they completely disappeared. The textile industry had been in decline since 1930 ***(appendix B-77)*** and the end of an era had already arrived. Ironically Images taken at the time, reveal equipment which was actively altering the tailrace behind the building ***(appendix B-63)***. The alteration was being undertaken to provide a tank on the rear of the blending and dyeing house which may have been intended to serve as a settling tank. Its construction consists of concrete tanks with a room suspended above it ***(appendix B-64 & B-65)***.

At this time the mill was still fully functional, being operated as the Hale Manufacturing Company. During the years which the Hale Family operated the building, little changes in the format of the complex were implemented with the exception of the change of the tail race and the reduction of the main smoke stack. A comparison of a photograph taken in 1983 and a contemporary image ***(appendix B-66 & B-67)*** show the reduction in the chimney's height by more than 100 feet; however, this may not be the only alteration. Although the 1937 insurance survey indicates that the smoke stack was constructed of red brick, the present color is light tan. Weather this chimney was changed at some time or weather the insurance survey was wrong is not known at present. The reduction in the height of the chimney, which occurred after the 1983 image was taken, suggests it was one of the last alterations of the building before it was finally closed as a mill in 1987. For the last few years as a mill the building was not functioning, being owned but not operated by a foreign textile company. The last private owner Newell Hale, who sold it to Monsanto, spoke confidently that the mill could still be operating had this last operator chosen to make a commitment to maintaining it. A final example of the

changes of the physical fabric reveals how dramatic alterations can be. By comparing the 1970 image and the 1983 image we see that the dormers on the Victorian mill were demolished at some point during these intervening years. Features which are so critical to the expression of the complex are lost. While smaller features are lost as well, it is the more significant losses which have the greatest visual impact on the site's present appearance. All of these changes are part of the history of the Wilkinson mill and reflect the long complex existence which this building has endured.

With the final closing of the mill, an era of textile manufacturing on the site came to a close. Having once been an early pioneer in the Industry, the building now sits as a reminder of the huge vacancy created when manufacturers left the region in favor of cheaper labor in the south. Clearly from the available evidence, the construction chronology of the buildings on this site are even more complex that the history of the textile industry which helped to sustain it, and while evidence can be gathered to produce a fairly reliable chronology, it is impossible to ever know the actual 'real' and 'true' historical 'facts' associated with the building's existence.

DEED *(Appendix A-4)*

Pomfret Deed book 10

pages 10-11 **Grantor:** John Harris & George Harris

April 26, 1805 **Grantee:** James Rhodes

To all People to whom these presents shall come greeting.

Know ye that we John Harris and George Harris and George Harris both of Pomfret in the State of Connecticut for the consideration of seven thousand five hundret dollars received to our full satisfaction of James Rhodes Esq. of Warwick in the state of Rhode lsland do give grant bargain file & confirm unto the said James Rhodes his heirs and assigns forever a certain farm lying and being in said Pomfret containing seventy five acres be the same more or less with all buildings mills be thereon landing & the half of the waters of the Quinebogue River on which it adjoins, bounded as follows /viz./ beginning at a stump about forty rods above the mills of the west bank of said river and south easterly corner of Silas Sabins farm thence running westerly on said Sabins land where the fence now stands to a large white oak tree with stones about it thence to continue the same course to the mill rive so called, thence southerly down stream by said river to a stump a corner bound of said Sabins land thence crossing said river running westerly bounding northerly on said Sabins land until it comes to the road leading from Woodstock to Killingly the southwest corner of land Sabins Farm, thence southerly by said road till it comes to the bridge standing over said mill river then crossing said road

and running southerly and bounding westerly on a highway till it comes to land of Noah Perrin, thence easterly bounding southerly on said Noah's land till it comes to the mouth of said mill river where it empties in to the Quinebouge, thence running up stream in the middle of said Quinebouge, till it comes to the bound first mentioned so as to include the islands on the west side of the main streams or branch being the same lands & mills purchased by said John Harris and Moses Arnold purchased of Benjamin Cargill by deed bearing date the 26th day of June AD 1798, may more fully appear reference thereto being had.

To have and to hold the above granted & bargained premises with all appurtenances and privileges thereto belonging unto him the said James Rhodes his heirs and assigns forever to his and their own proper use and behoof and [ ] we the said John Harris and George Harris do for ourselves, our heirs, executors & administrators covenant with the said James Rhodes his heirs and assigns that at and until the ensealing these presents we are well [sized] of the premises as a good indefeasible estate in fee simple and have good rights to bargain and sell the same in manner and form as is above written, and that the same is free of all incumbrances whatsoever. And furthermore we the said John Harris and George Harris do by these presents bind ourselves and our heirs forever to warrant and defend the above granted and bargained premises to him the said James Rhodes his heirs and assigns against all claim and demands whatsoever and also that we the said John and George Harris do bind ourselves and our heirs and assign as we are owner of the east side of said River Quinebouge that there shall not be erected and mills for flowering grain of any kind or fulling mills for dressing cloth on the east side of the said river while the said James Rhodes his heirs or assigns shall [conti] or erect

those mills on the west side on the above granted premises. In Witness [whenof] we have herunto set our hands and seals the 26th day of April AD 1805 Signed sealed and delivered in presence of

[Jono.] R Arnold — John Harris-(seal)

Thos. Grosvenor — George Harris-(seal)

Windham

Windham said town of Pomfret April 26th 1805

Then personally appeared [ ] John Harris and George Harris signers and sealers of the above and foregoing written instrument and acknowledged the same to be their free act and deed

before me Thos. Grosvenor, Justice of the peace

Received and truly recorded April 27th 1805 by Saml. Waldo Reg'r

DEBTORS EXECUTION *(Appendix A-5)*

Pomfret Deed book 14

pages 98-118 **By:** Smith Wilkinson

December 18, 1829-April 5, 1830 **Against:** James Rhodes

To the sheriff of the county of Windham or his deputy or either of the constables of the town of Thompson within said county. Greetings whereas Smith Wilkinson of Pomfret in said county recovered judgment against Abraham Wilkinson & Isaac Wilkinson of North Providence in the state of Rhode Island manufacturers in company, under the name and firm of Abr. & I. Wilkinson, before the county court, holden at Brooklyn within the county of Windham aforesaid, on the 2nd Tuesday of August AD 1832 for the sum of four thousand eight hundred and ten dollars & sixty cents, damages; and for the sum of seventeen dollars twenty cents costs of suit, as appears of record; whereof execution remains to be done & there are therefore, by authority of the state of Connecticut, to command you, that of the good, chattles or lands of the debtors within your precinct, you cause to be levied, (and the same being dispersed of or appraised as the law directs) paid and satisfied unto the said creditors the aforesaid sums being four thousand eight hundred twenty seven dollars, eighty cents in the whole, with seventeen cents more for this writ, together your own fees~

And for want of goods chattles or lands of the said debtors to be [ ] thereon unto you; or found within your precincts, to the acceptance of the said creditor for the

satisfying the aforesaid sums, you are hereby commanded to take the bodies of the said debtors and them commit unto the keeper of the jail in Brooklyn, in the county of Windham aforesaid within the said prison, who is likewise here by commanded to receive the said debtors and them safely keep until they pay unto the said creditor the full sums above mentioned and be by him released, and also satisfy your fees.. Here of [ ] not and make due return of this writ, with your doings thereon, within sixty days next coming~ Dated at Brooklyn, this 16th day of August 1832~

Armin Bolles Clerk~

Windham County [Town of] Thompson August 18 1832 Thereby virtue of this execution I made diligent search throughout my precinct for the within named debtors but could find neither of them, nor had either of them any place of abode within the same, where I could make demand of the above execution, nor could I find within my precincts any goods or chattles of said debtors, nor on demand then made of the within named creditor was any shown to me, except as in hereafter described; and then by direction of the creditor, I levied this execution on all the right title & interest of the within named debtors in and to the following described real estate, situated in the towns of Thompson aforesaid, Pomfret and Killingly in said county of Windham, containing by estimation ten hundred & forty acres bounded and described as follows, beginning at the east bank of Quinebogue River by land of Jerimiah Prophet then N 81 E 57 rods to land of Smith Wilkinson thence N 9 W on said Wilkinson 60 rods to said Prophets land thence N [7]5 E 27 1/2 rods to the south west corner of said Prophets land, thence easterly & northerly as the fence now slants 49 rods to land of the Spaldings heirs, thence northerly

& westerly by a wall about 2 rods to the south west corner to land of the heirs of said Spaulding, thence easterly & northerly on said heirs land to the road from Pomfret factory to Providence thence crossing said road & southerly and easterly on the north side thereof to land of Joseph Buck, then on said Buck easterly to a swamp, thence [thro] the same in said Buck as the fence & [wall] now slants, until it comes to land of Willard Parks, thence in said Parks nearly the same course, to a heap of stones near a white oak tree, a little south of the road from Pomfret Factory to said Parks house, to land of Davis [Sessions], thence in said [Sessions], the same course to a heap of stones, a bound of land, Benjamin Cargill bought of Nathaniel Daniels, thence westerly on said [Sessions] to a heap of stones, a S.W. corner of said [Sessions] land and a side bound of land Benj. Cargill bought of [Maston] Eaton, thence northerly by land of said [Sessions] & Joseph Jay to a stone in the wall, the north westerly corner bound of Joseph Jay's Land, thence easterly in said Jay to land of William Parks, thence northerly & easterly in said Parks till it comes to a brook, thence westerly, bounding on land [late] belonging to Joseph Demon, to a road from Pomfret factory to Thompson Meeting house; then on the northwest side of said road northeasterly to land of William Perry, thence N141/2 W 18 rods then N 67 W 49 3/4 rods to Quinebogue River, thence up the middle of said river, to land of William Bundy, thence N 84 W in said Bundy 172 3/4 rods to a corner of a wall thence N 11 1/2 E 102 rods 14 links to the Thompson Woodstock Turnpike road, so called, then N 581/4 W 41 rods 19 links to Leonard Bugbee's land to a stake & stones; thence S 17 W 72 3/4 rods to a mere stone in the swamp; thence S 89 W in said Bugbees 84 1/2 rods to a heap of stones a corner of land said Bugbee bought of Joseph Wheaton, thence S 6 E 79 rods 7 links to a stake and stones, thence S 4 W 147 rods in land of Silas Sabins heirs, to the

north east corner of land Eleager Sabin sold the Pomfret Manufacturing Company so called; then west 81 rods 15 links on said Sabins land to a road leading from Simeon Allens to Bundy Bridge; thence on said road S 42 1/4 E 19 rods; thence S 59 E 36 rods; thence S 56 3/4 E 61 rods thence S 22 3/4 E 50 rods to a mere stone, the S.E. corner of Eleager Sabin's land, thence S 36 W 76 rods thence westerly as the fence now stands in Silas Sabin's Heir's Land to the middle of mill river thence down said river to a mere stone on the south bank of said river opposite a maple tree, thence S 5 W 8 rods 3 links, thence S 13 1/2 E 8 rods 22 links to a stone thence S 11 1/4 E 9 rods 1 link to a stone, thence S 27 1/4 E 5 rods 17 links to a stone thence S 4 W 2 rods 15 links to a stone opposite the point of an island, the lower end, thence in the center of said river down the same till it comes opposite a mere stone on the east bank of said river thence westerly a straight line, to a large oak near Woodstock Road thence the same course to said road, thence on the east side of said road southerly to the bridge over mill river thence southerly on the east side of the road leading from said bridge to Pomfret Meeting House to land of [Noah] Perrin- thence in said Perrin to mill river to the center thereof thence down the said center, to the center of Quineboge River. Thence down the center of said river to the first bound- [excepting] and rendering out of said described [ ], and within the boundaries of the same, eighty five acres called the Bundy Privilege the land being in the east & west side of said falls of said Bundy Privilege, and was divided by sundry deeds of partition dated the 7th day of march 1829 between James Rhodes, William Wilkinson, Smith Wilkinson & Abraham Wilkinson and Isaac Wilkinson, but including thirteen fifteen parts of 17 acres of said eighty five acres in lot no. 4 in said division; with all the

said debtors interests in the dam & water privileges on said lot No. 4 built by James Rhodes~

Also one other lot of land lying in Pomfret, in said county called the Peck lot, containing 11 acres, lying on the west side of road leading from Pomfret factory to Woodstock bounded beginning at a heap of stones or bound of [Noah] Perrins land thence on said road N 34 1/4 W 17 rods to a heap of stones, thence 79 W 131 rods on John M. Sabin's land and land of John Bayden to a corner, S 25 1/2 W 13 rods thence S 79 E 144 rods 20 links to the first bound~

Also one lot lying in Thompson Woods in the town of Thompson containing 31 acres 2 quarters 24 rods. Bounded beginning at the S.W. corner at a heap of stones thence north 4 W 86 rods by land formerly of Silas Smith. thence N 86 1/4 W 60 rods by land of Simon Barnet & Lathrop Holmes's heirs thence S 4 E 84 3/4 rods by the McClellan's lands, or their [assigns]- thence S 86 3/4 E 60 rods by land formerly of Jonathan Allen to the first bound

Also one lot lying in said Thompson bought of George Larned containing 27 acres; bounded beginning at a corner of land of the heir of Parker Whitmore near a turnpike road, thence S56 1/2 E 16 1/2 rods to a stake & stones thence N 43 E 128 rods 18 links to stake and stones- thence N 38 1/2 W 38 rods 17 links to stake and stones- thence S 42 1/2 W 81 1/2 rods to a corner where thence walls meet, a bound of said Witmans heirs & Parmela Clough- then S 23 W 34 rods, to a [bound] in the wall- thence S 25 3/4 W 26 rods to the first bound~

Also all the right & interest of said debtors in thirty five acres & one hundred & forty seven rods of land lying in said Thompson bought be Thomas Elliot Jr. by deed

dated Feb 28, 1829 and bounded on all sides by said Elliot's land being a privilege of cutting the wood off said land~

Also on the same day I levied said execution on all the right, title & interest of said debtors in and to the following described estate - to [wit]; 9 mules, containing 1620 spindles, 4 dressers- 76 power looms- 60 carding machines breakers and finishers- 8 drawing frames- 3 [Tauntin speeders]- 6 [geared & butted speeders]- 152 spindles- 449 card boxes & cans- 24 [ ] frames, 1632 spindles- 3 warpers- 3 speeders- 1 card grinder callender [ ]- 1 picker- 1 [atche]- 75 gallons of lamb oil- 2 long lathes- 1 roller lathe- 1 spindle lathe- 1 drill lathe- 1 wood lathe- 1 saw wood lathe- 1 cutting lathe- 1 [fle ting] engine- 1 grind stone- 1 circular saw- 7 iron vices- jamb plates, files , chisels, drills & other small boots; spare rollers, new and old castings, in the machine and blacksmith shop- 2 anvils 2 bellows- 1 [buckhorn] 1 hollow anvil- 1 vice- 30 lbs steel- 300 lbs of iron, old files- old rim rollers & spindles- 1200 lbs of old [serah] iron [& tools] in the black smith shop- 1 old filling frame- 700 lbs of card waste 4 old drawing frames, and lot of old lumber- 100 lbs of refuse yarn 1 time [price] 475 bushels of oats, 285 bushels of corn, 129 bushels of rye 95 tons of hay & 2 horses, 17 oxen, 12 sickles, 2 [laws], 10 corn cutters, 2 chum drills, 2 sledges, 1 hammer, 3 pick-axes, 10 axes, 12 pitchforks, 6 dung forks, 2 spades, 10 shovels, 10 hoes, 6 iron bars, 1 fulling [mile][crank], 3 ox waggons, 3 ox carts, 1 draft, 2 hay [cart] bodies, 4 sleds 7 iron & wood ploughs 4 ox [scrapers], 2 ox & horse [harrows], 12 scythes & [snathes], 5 bush scythes, 2 cradles with scythes, 15 rakes, one set of ox bows, yokes & lumber, 12 draft chains, 4 [slut s] & 1 log chain, butts & wedges, 3 old waggons & harnesses, 1 old chaise harness- old sleigh bottom & wheels, 79 cords of wood, 19 logs, 5000 feet of pine lumber, 8 pieces of woolen cloth, 75 3/4

yds- 3 pieces 53 1/2 yards of [sattinetts], 2 pieces 53 yards of kersey, remnants of woolen cloth, 13 yards of padding, 5 pieces 67 yards of flannel, 6 roles of leather, 24 hats, a small lot of [hard]ware, cutlery & buttons, 28 pieces 395 1/4 yards of calico, 43 pieces 389 3/4 yards of calico, 22 pieces 237 yards of silk goods, 9 pieces 196 1/2 yards of gingham, 2 pieces 62 1/4 yards of ticking, 16 pieces 45 3/4 remnants- 10 pieces 14 yards of vestings- 4 pieces 46 1/2 yards of cambrick linings- 6 pieces 18 1/2 yards of velvet- 22 shawls- 2 pieces 46 yards of checks- 5 pieces 26 1/2 yards of[bombasetts]- 3 pieces 21 yards figured muslin- 26 [lilk] [hhds], 2 dozen of cotton handkerchiefs 5 pieces of [napkin]- 8 lbs of thread- 1 1/2 lbs of silk thread1 1/2 packs of pins- 59 pairs of gloves- 4 8/12 [doz] of [hhds]- 1 1/2 doz suspenders, 14 yards of linen- 10 7/12 dozen of combs- lots of remnants of millenette- 1 lot of cotton thread [ ]- 141 yards of cotton lace & [footing]- 4 vails- 3 [ ], 1 lot of ribbons, needles, tapes and [moles]- one lot of crapes & crape handkerchiefs- one lot of pan and linings- 8 1/2 yards of [table] diapers- 3 umbrellas- 19 pairs of shoes- 136 1/4 yards of gambricks- 66 1/2 yards of muslin- 10 handkerchiefs- 3 [baits]- 2 pieces of crape, [jane] & flannel- 400 lbs of brown sugar- 60 lbs of loaf sugar- 70 lbs of coffee- 150 lbs nails- 2 1/2 [barrels] flour, 308 lbs starch- 81 lbs [Sauchong] tea- 70 lbs [hyson] tea- 100 lbs [ ] raisins- 12 1/2 lbs of [cassia]- 20 lbs of [coperas]- 6 lbs [nitre]- 20 lbs spices- 4 lbs ginger- 20 lbs sulpher- 14 lbs G. salts- 6 lbs of french yellow- 15 lbs [ ]- 14 lbs epsom salts- 20 lbs pepper [snuff]- 20 lbs tobacco- 56 lbs soup- 100 lbs rice 130 [crackers]- 3 [trunks]- 10 wooden pails- 4 [hair] [seives]- 3 bushels of salt- 100 lbs fish- 92 gals. of [melapes]- 40 lbs whiting- 80 lbs chalk- 1/2 [barrel] vinegar- 45 lbs hops- 2 iron [shovels] [saws] & 40 lbs tallow- 8 doz. corn brooms- 1 lot of [olie] [cake] & boxes- 4 [legham] hats- 3 straw bonnets- 1500 lb. waste part of wagon harness-

iron on old water frames- one lot of crockery of broken sets & single articles- one small lot of medicines- lot of iron & brown earthen ware- 159,628 yards of brown shirtings- 836 1/4 yards shirting- 4618 lbs. of cotton yarn in looms, [chessers]- bobbins & caps- 615 lbs of cotton in the mill from the picker to yarn- 15,586 lbs of cotton~

The same belonging to said debtors as tenants in common with James Rhodes, William Wilkinson, & Smith Wilkinson- the said debtors right or interest in the same being thirteen ****undivided sixty parts thereof and thirteen fifteen parts of the above discribed lot No. 4 in the Bundy privilege owned as tenants in common with Smith Wilkinson and [having] an equity of redemption in the same, the said debtors having mortgage the same to the merchants bank in Providence by deed having date the 26th day of May AD 1829 for the security of the sum of twenty two thousand dollars~

The condition of said deed providing, that if the said debtors Abraham Wilkinson, Isaac Wilkinson their heirs, executors or administrators shall pay or discharge six promissory notes of [even date of said deed made by them and payable to the Merchants bank in Providence, in order for the sums and at the times following namely are for three thousand dollars payable six months after date- one for three thousand dollars payable eight months after date- one for four thousand dollars payable ten months after date- one for four thousand dollars payable twelve months after date- one for four thousand dollars payable fourteen months after date and one for four thousand dollars payable sixteen months after date there said deed to be [ ] otherwise shall be and remain in full force~

And further providing in the following [words] [ ] [Ann] we the said Abraham and Isaac Wilkinson do hereby constitute and appoint the said merchants bank in Providence our lawful attorney irrevocable for us and in our names or in the name of said

bank at any time after the expiration of the said terms of time on which the said notes become payable to sell the [ ] herein conveyed or any part thereof in some one of the Public News papers in the town of Providence and for us and in our names or in the name of said bank to execute seal & deliver to any person or persons who may become the purchasor or purchasors thereof a good & sufficient deed or deeds of the same, so as to vest in said purchasor or purchasors a full and absolute estate in [fee] simple, in the [premises] or such part thereof as may be so sold; and on sale of said premises or any part thereof we hereby authorize our said attorney to receive of and from the purchasor or purchasors thereof the amount the same may be sold for and upon the receipt thereof to apply and appropriate the payment of the sums due on said notes and secured by this deed hereby satisfying and confirming such sale as may be executed by our said attorney for the purpose aforesaid- And the interest on said mortgages amounting at the time of said levy in the whole to the sum of [seventy] four thousand four hundred & ninety one dollars thirty three cents- and thereupon the said ceditor appointed William Read an indifferent [ ] of said town of Thompson an appraiser of said estate & interest [ ] [ ] lived upon as aforesaid of said debtors- and said debtors not residing or being within my precincts and not having any known agent or attorney therein authorized to appoint to [Falcutt] Crosby Esq. or Justice of the Peace for said county of Windham & residing in said town of Thompson and by law qualified to judge between the partie aforesaid to appoint two other appraisers and be thereupon appointed John Nichols Esq. & George Larned Jr. both indifferent freeholders of said town of Thompson to the such appraisers and said William Read, John Nichols Esq. & George Larned Jr. being duly swarn by Simon Davies a justice of the peace for said Windham County residing in said Thompson to appraise the

right title and interest of said debtors in said real and personal estate so levied on as aforesaid- as is by law- provided for appraisers of land on execution- And they having entered upon and viewed said real estate & examined said personal estate included in said mortgage and levied upon as aforesaid and having ascertained the amount of said mortgage debt- said appraisers did appraise and estimate said equity of redemption on the right and interest of said debtors in the aforesaid described property, subject to said mortgage, as the sume of nineteen hundred fifty eighth dollars seventy four cents- and thereupon give me the following certificate in writing [vig.]

We the under written free holders of the town of Thompson, having been appointed & sworn as aforesaid to appraise & interest the equity of redemption on the right & interest of the above named debtors in the mortgaged premises and property above described & levied upon by the above execution subject to said mortgage debt amounting to the sum of twenty four thousand four hundred ninety one dollars thirty three cents did appraise and estimate the same, [leving} the said debtors right title & interest or equity of redemption in said real and personal estate at the sum of Nineteen hundred fifty eight dollars and seventy four cents as the just and true value thereof. Dated at Thompson this 21st day of August 1832~

Wm. Read

John Nichols

Geo. Larned Jr. Appraisers under oath

I thereupon set off to the creditor herein named in this execution all the right title and interest of said debtors in [ ] to said described premises & personal estate subject

to said mortgage at the sum of nineteen hundred & fifty eight dollars & seventy four cents [having] thirteen sixteen parts thereof and thirteen fifteen parts of the privilege No 4 at the Bundy falls as before described in part satisfaction & payment of said execution and my fees thereon- and on the 8th day of September 1832 I caused this execution to be recorded in the records of lands of the towns of Thompson Pomfret and Killingly within which said land lies

fees[fraud to levy treturn 46 miles 5 cts]	2.30
levy & [ ]	39.28
Indorsement on execution	3.75
Recording 12.00 [ ] to the recorded	12.34
Appraisers per day at 67 cts	8.08
Notifying appraisers	.50
To justice for appointing	.25
	$66.46

Attest Franklin Nichols Sheriffs Deputy

Windham County town of Thompson August 18 1832

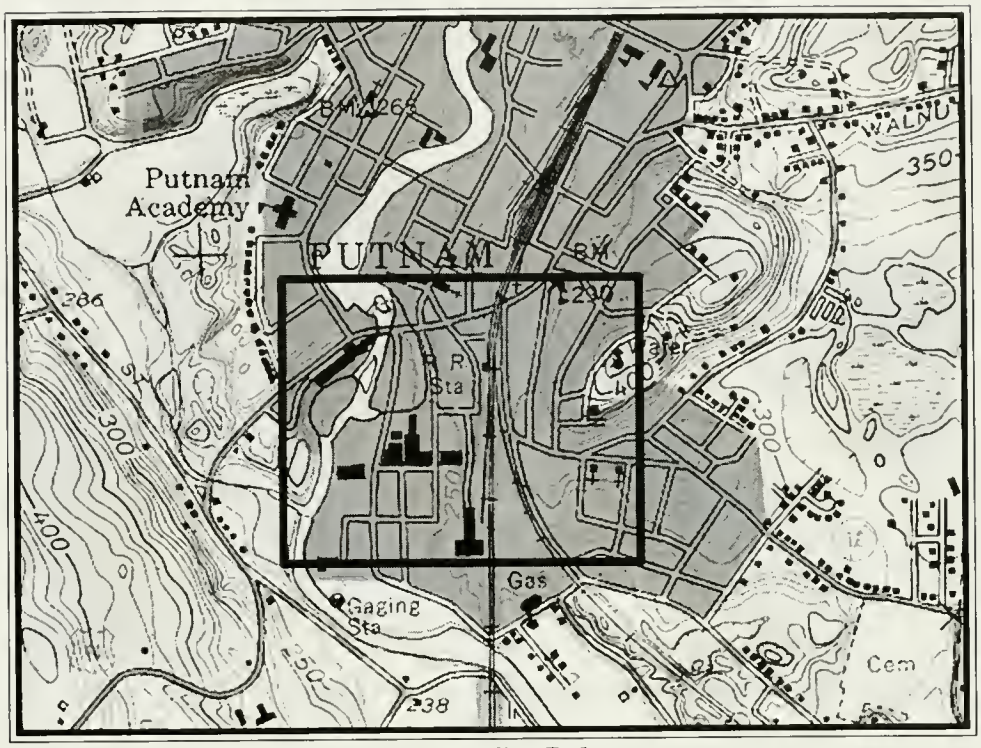
Then in application of Franklin Nichols deputy Sheriff of the County of Windham, I appointed John Nichols Esq. George Larned Jr. both indifferent freeholders of said town of Thompson appraisers to appraise & estimate with William read appointed by the above named creditor the real personal estate above described-

Talcott Crosby Justice of the Peace~

Windham County Town of Thompson August 18th 1832

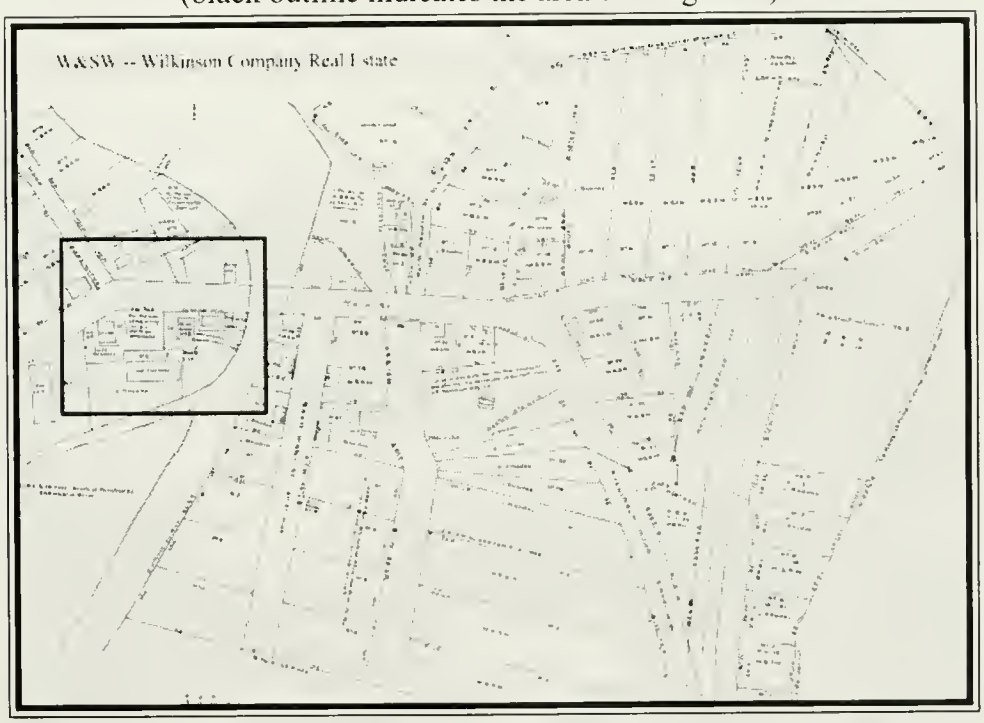
Then in administered to William Read, John Nichols Esq. & George Larned Jr. the above named appraisers the oath by law provided for appraisers of land or execution-

Simon Davies Justice of the Peace~



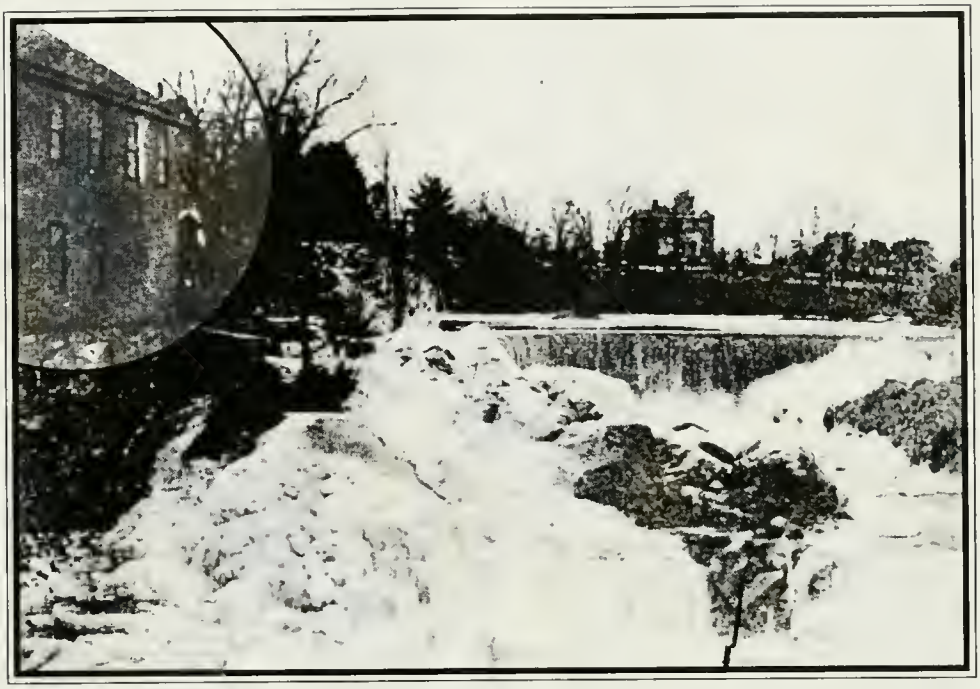
Appendix B-1

Contemporary map of Putnam CT (U.S.G.S.).
(black outline indicates the area of image B-2)



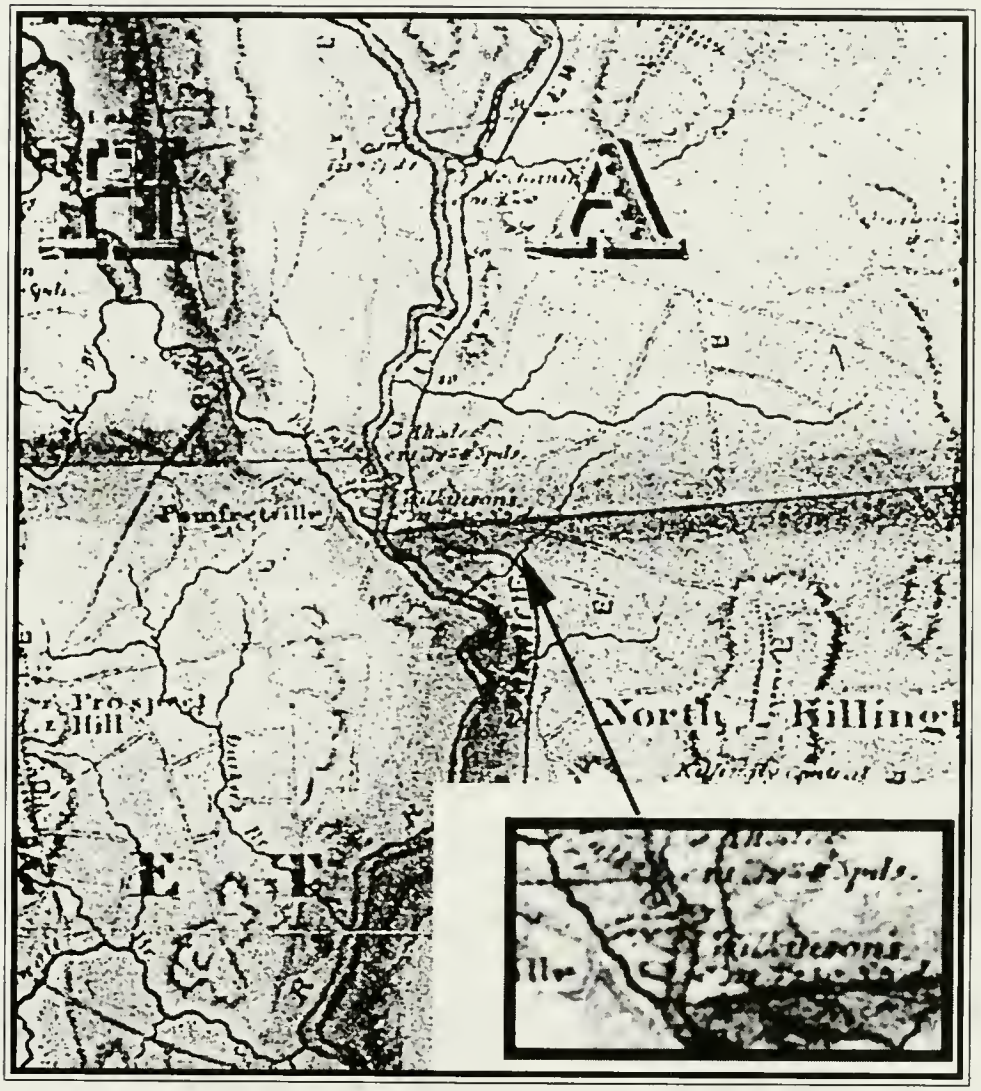
Appendix B-2

1834 map of the Pomfret Manufacturing Company land holdings.
Site indicated by square(Aspinock Historical Society)

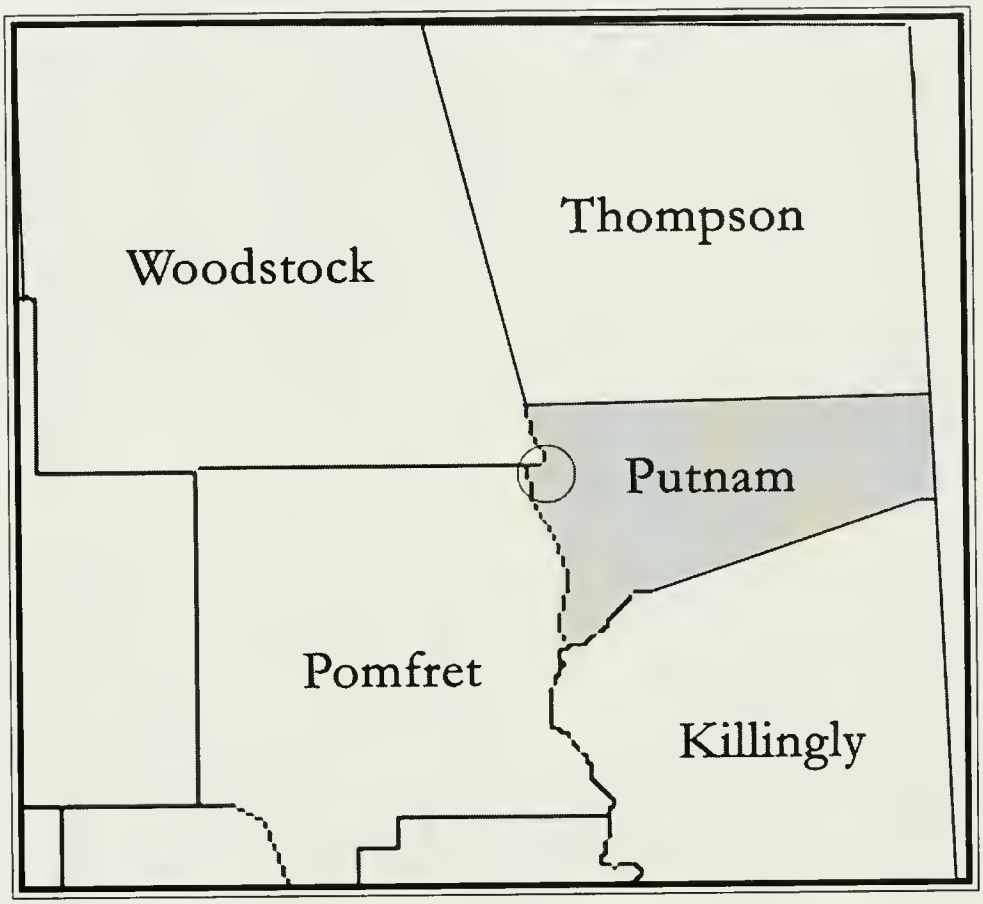


Appendix B-3
1888 view of Cargill Falls with gristmill on left.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

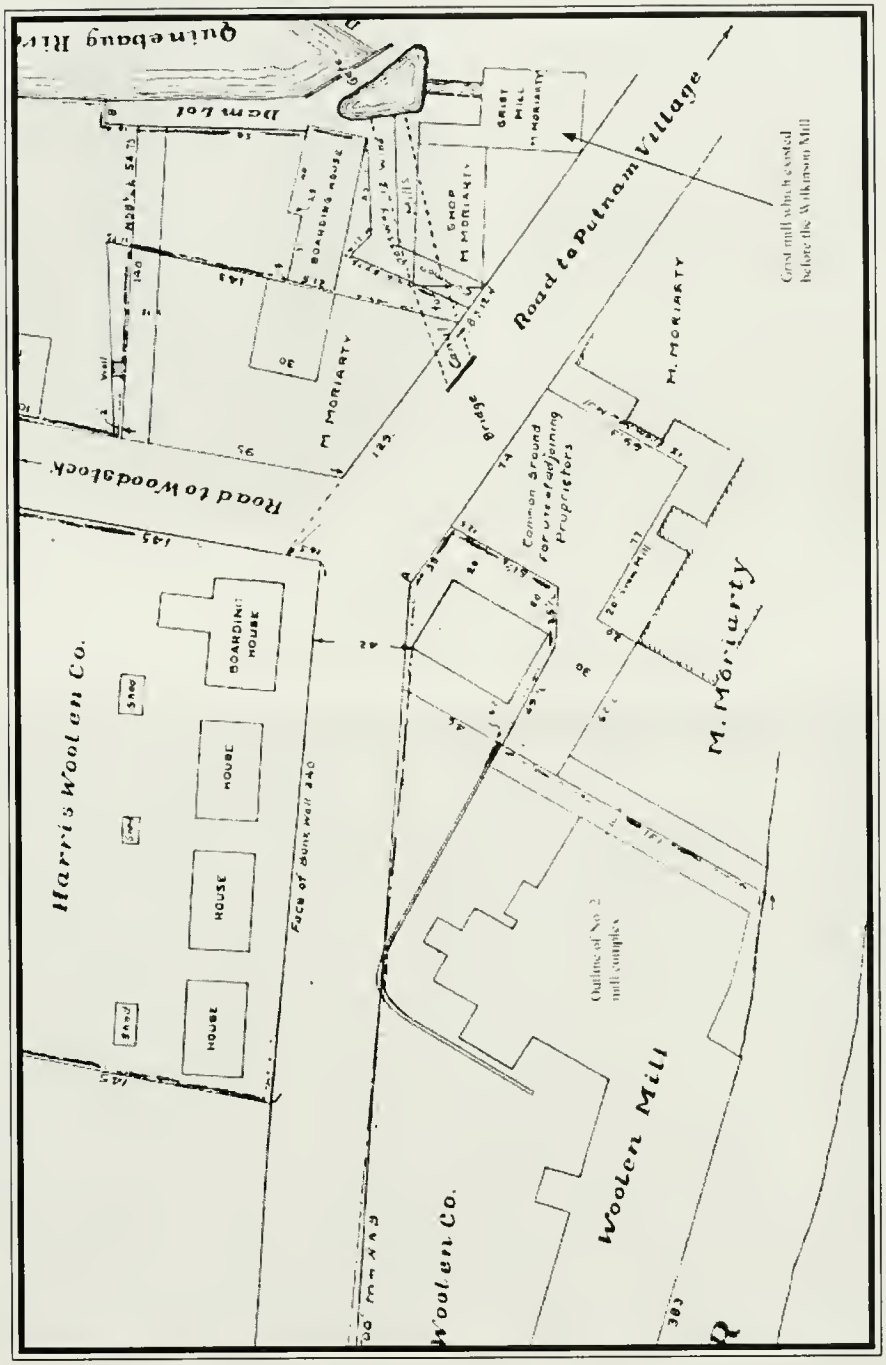
Appendix B-4
2001 view of Cargill Falls.



Appendix B-5
1833 map of Pomfret/Thompson/Killingly intersection.
future site of Putnam
(Pomfret Town Hall)

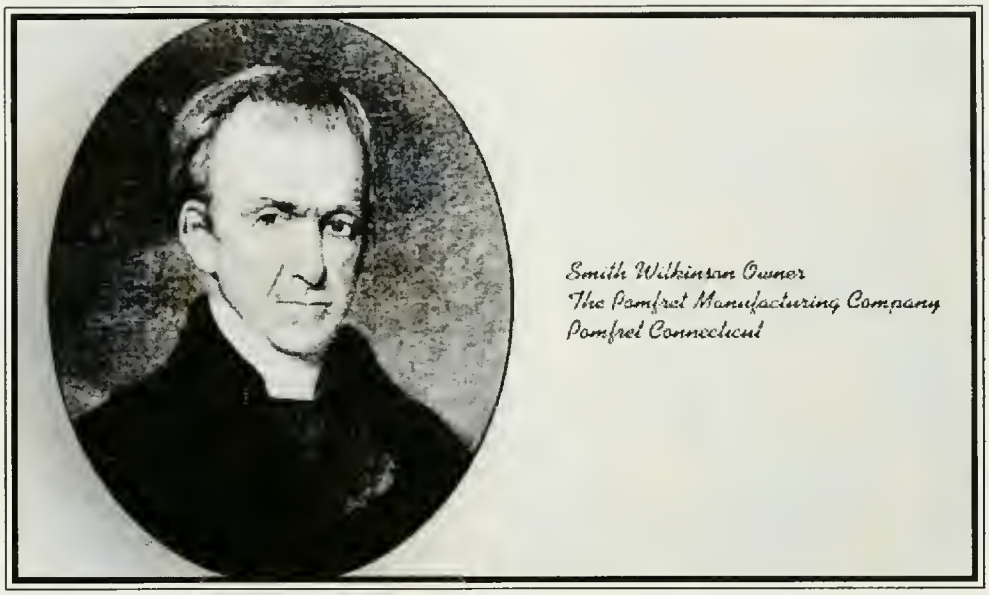


Appendix B-6
Location of Putnam incorporated in 1855.
Ring indicates location of Wilkinson mill and land.

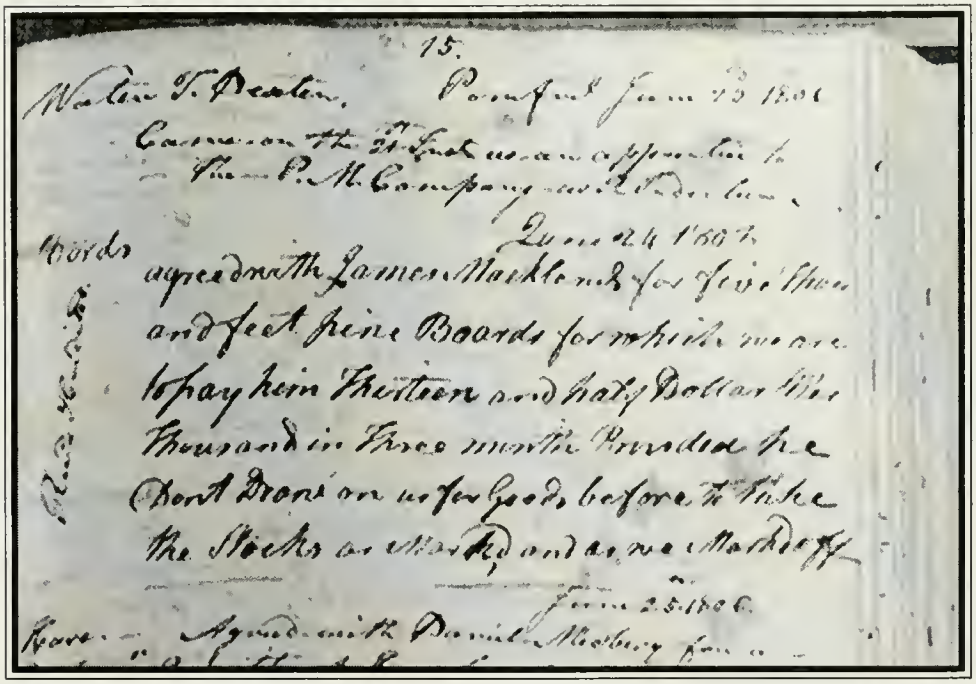


Appendix B-7

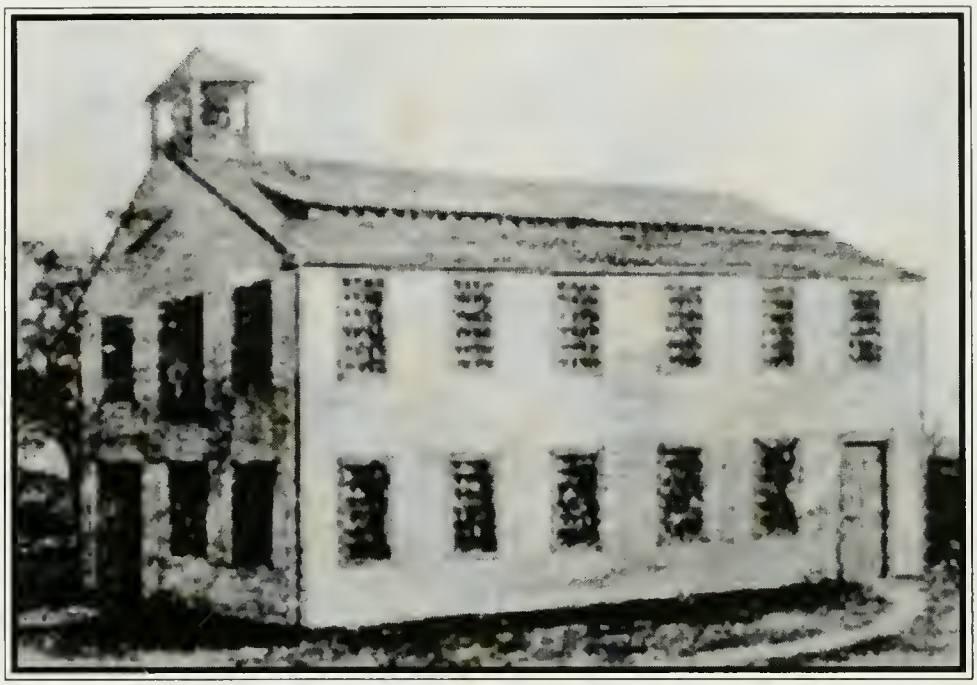
1870 Property holdings of the Harris Woolen Company.
(Aspinock Historical Society)



Appendix B-8
Smith Wilkinson
(Run of the Mill: Steve Dunwell)



Appendix B-9
June 23, 1806 record of the Pomfret Manufacturing Company.
(Connecticut State Archives)



Appendix B-10
1820's conjectural drawing of Samual Slater's mill.
(Run of the Mill: Steve Dunhill)

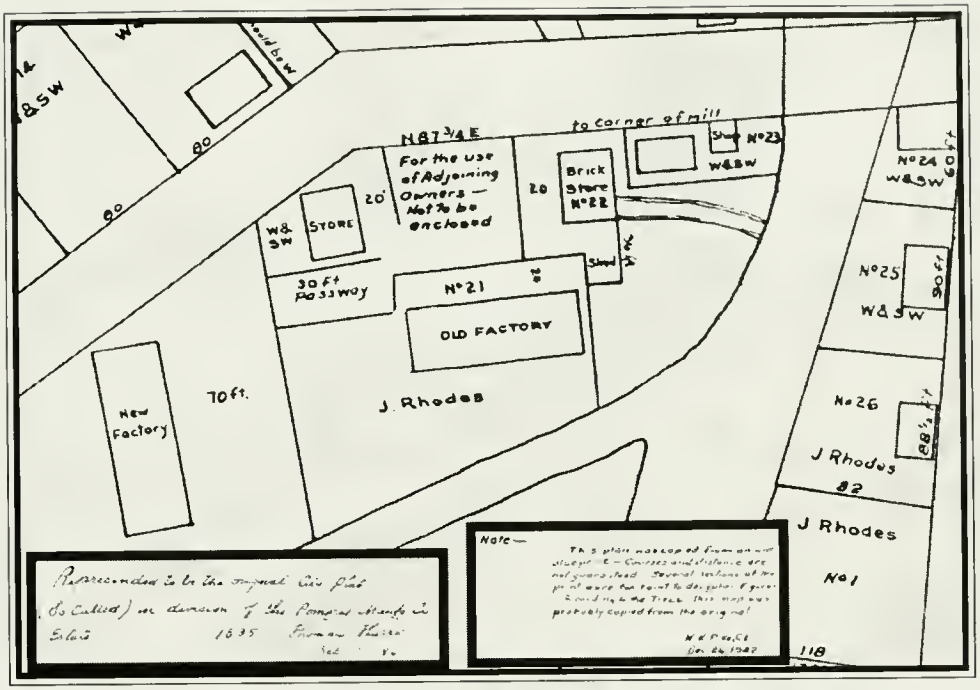
Appendix B-11
Contemporary View of Slater Mill high-lighting original section.

Appendix B-12
View of Slater Mill Historic Site before restoration.
(Rhode Island Historical Society)

Appendix B-13
Harris Mill Putnam Ct. - date unknown.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

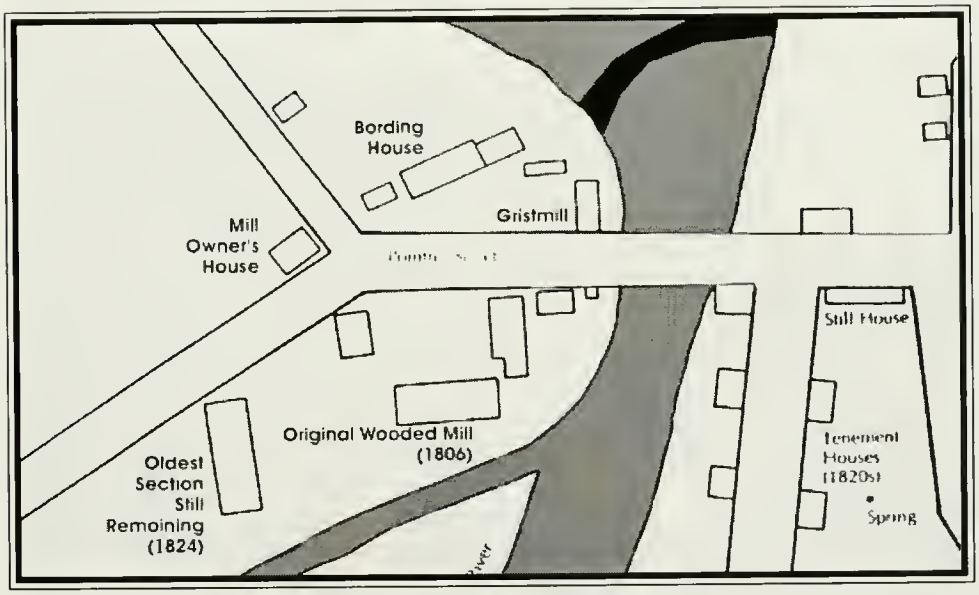
Appendix B-14
Date stone of no.3 Wilkinson Mill.
(Old Sturbridge Village Archives)

Appendix B-15
1880's image of no.3 Wilkinson Mill.
(Aspinock Historical Society)



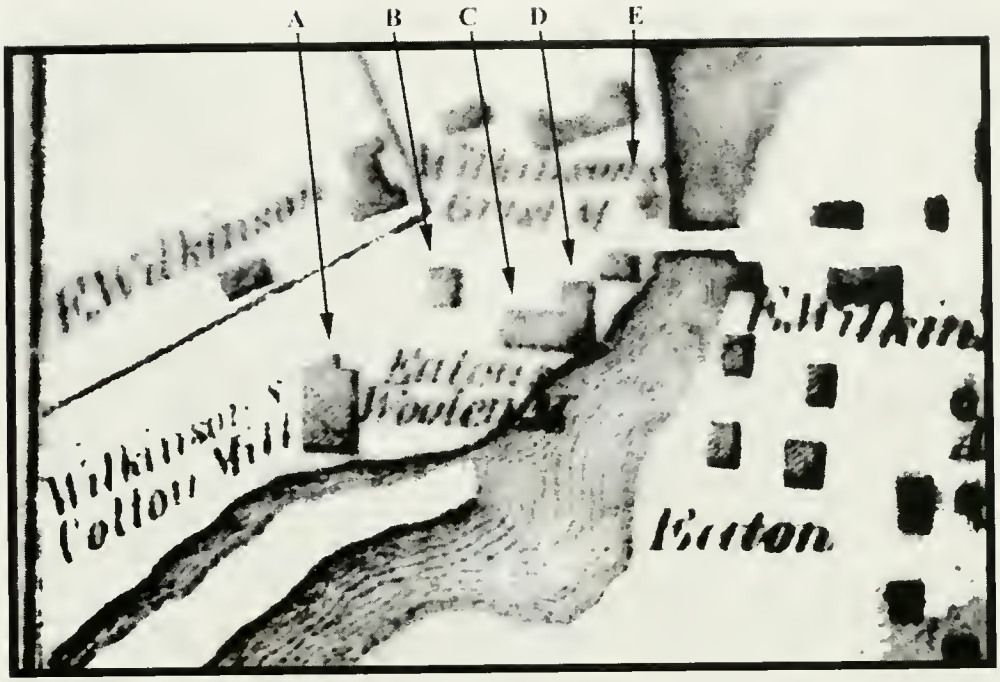
Appendix B-16

Detail of 1835 Wilkinson land holdings map.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

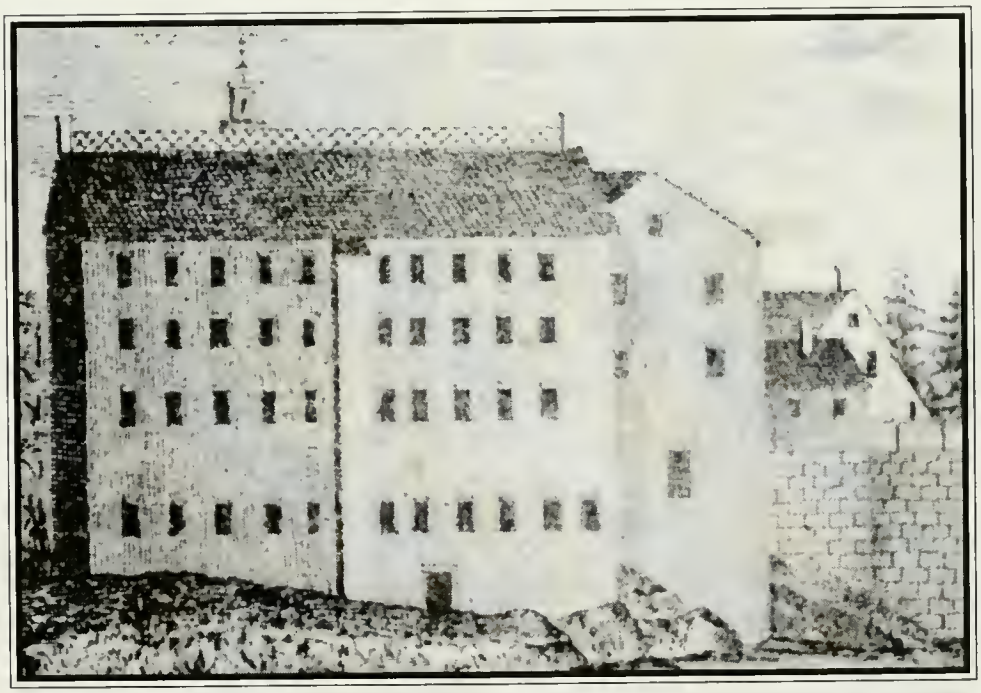


Appendix B-17

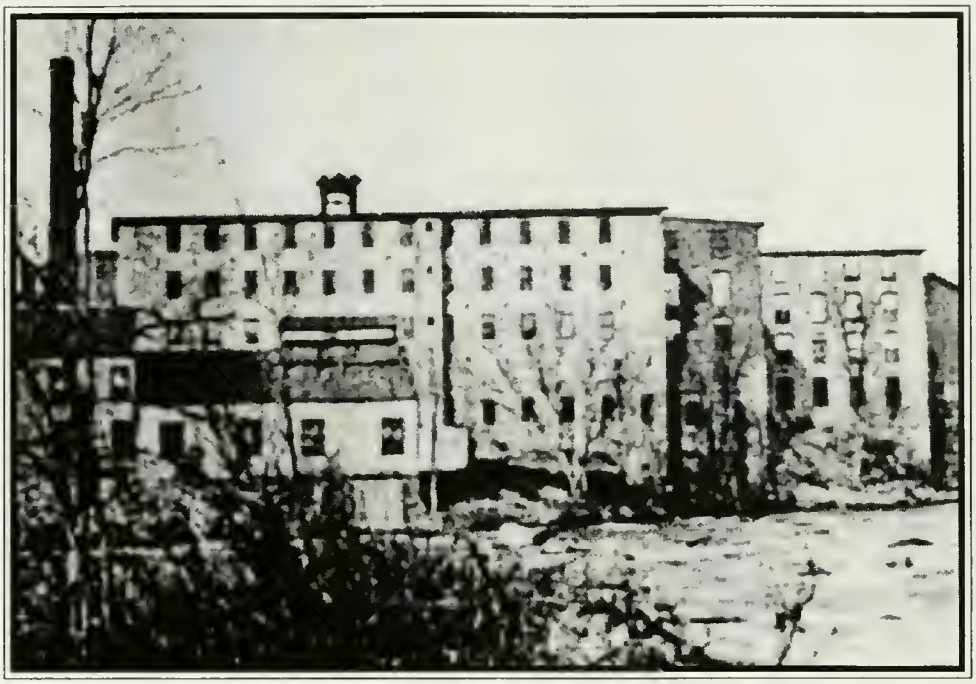
Conjectural map of 1835 property from "The New England Mill Village".
(The New England Mill Village, 1790-1860)



Appendix B-18
Detail 1855 map of Putnam.
(Old Sturbridge Village Archives)



Appendix B-19
Image of Wilkinson mill from 1855 map border.
(Old Sturbridge Village Archives)

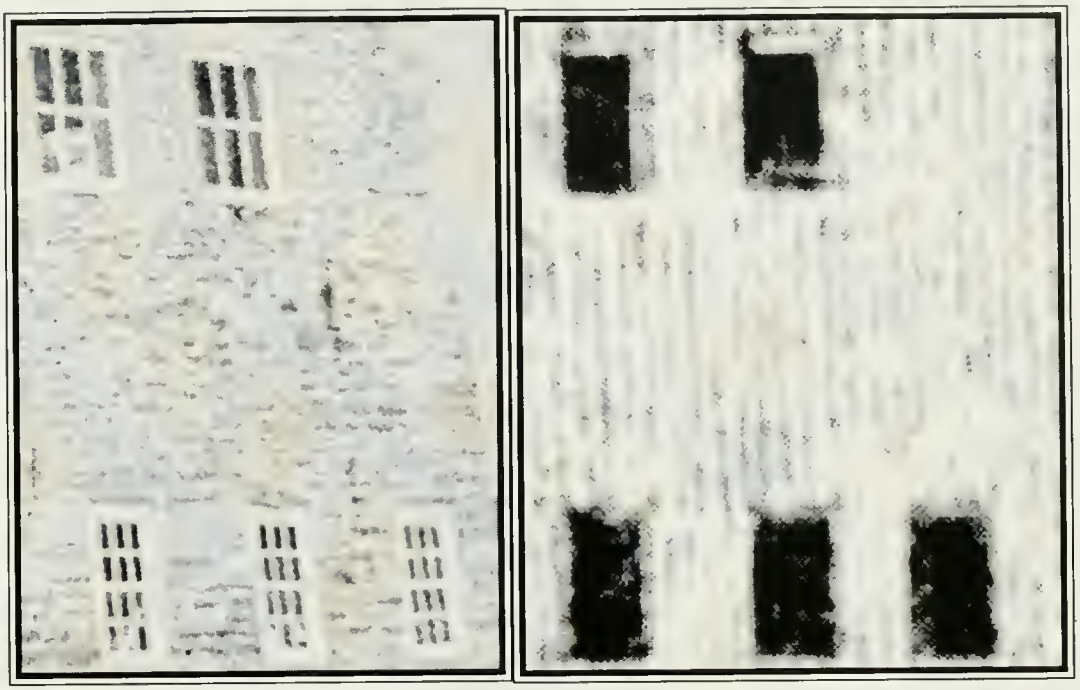


Appendix B-20
1889 photograph of no.4 Mill.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

Appendix B-21
1970 image of no.4 Mill.
(Old Sturbridge Village Archives)

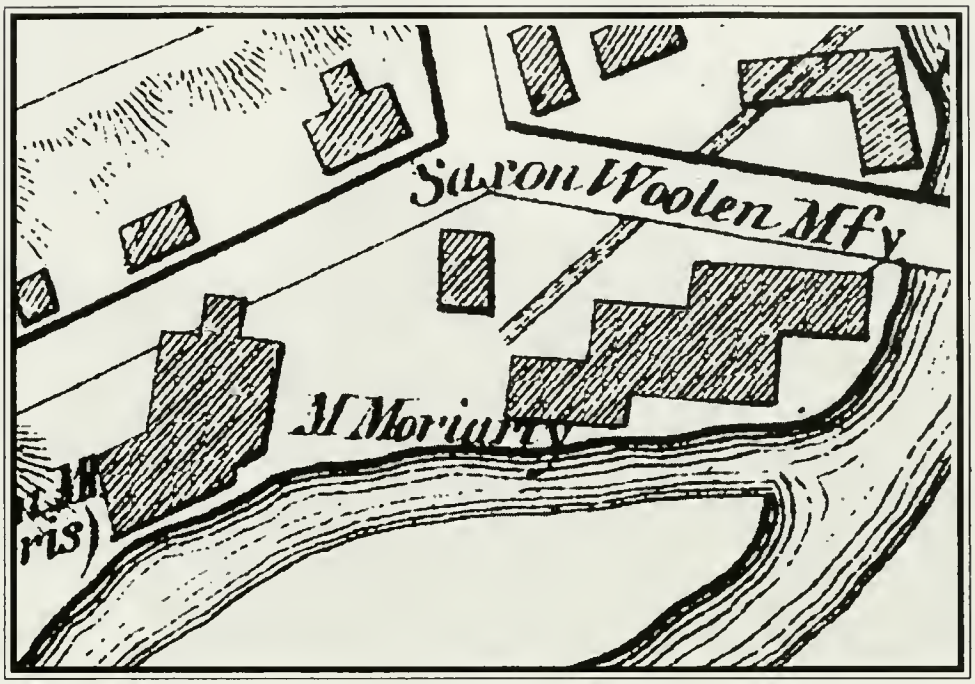
Appendix B-22
Ballou Millnorth of Wilkinson Mill (date unknown).
(Aspinock Historical Society)

Appendix B-23
Evidence of no.2 wooden mill foundation.



Appendix B-24
Details of 1970 photograph and 1855 print of south side of no. 4 mill.
(Old Sturbridge Village Archives)

Appendix B-25
Contemporary image of tower, no.4 mill.



Appendix B-26
Detail 1869 map of Putnam.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

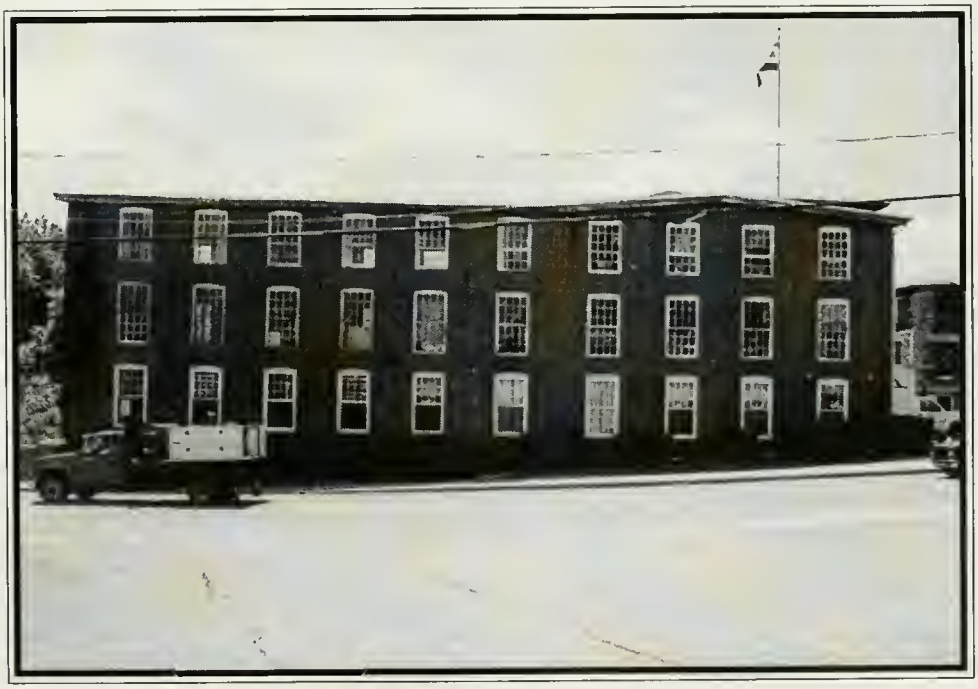
Appendix B-27
1887 bird's eye view of Putnam.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

Appendix B-28
West side of no.5 mill.

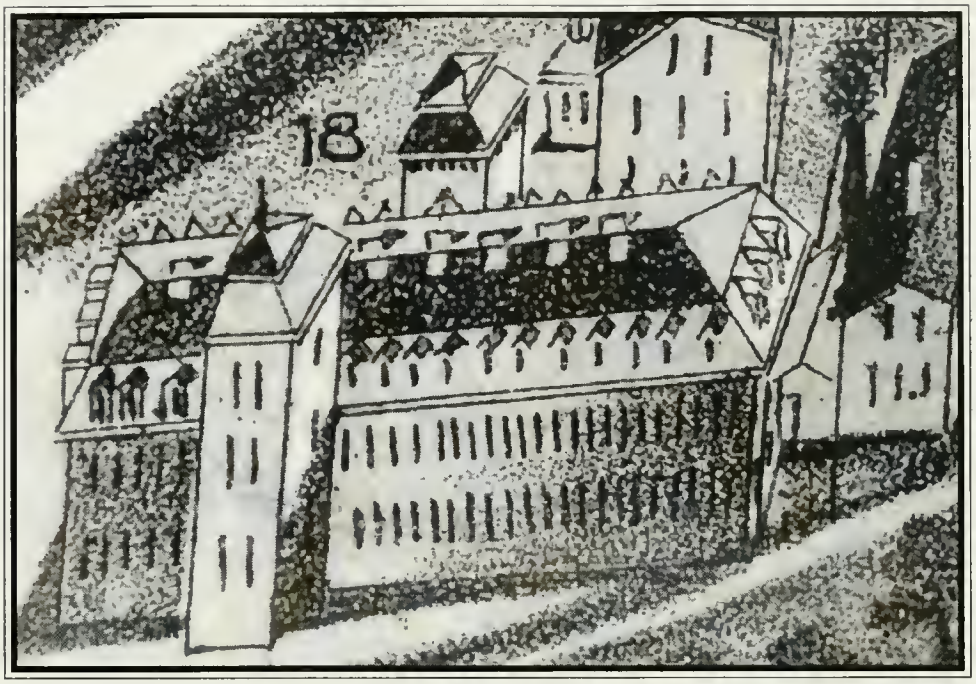
Appendix B-29
East side of no.5 mill.

Appendix B-30
View of water closet tower on south side of no.4 mill.

Appendix B-31
detail 1887 bird's eye view of east side of no.5 mill.
(Aspinock Historical Society)



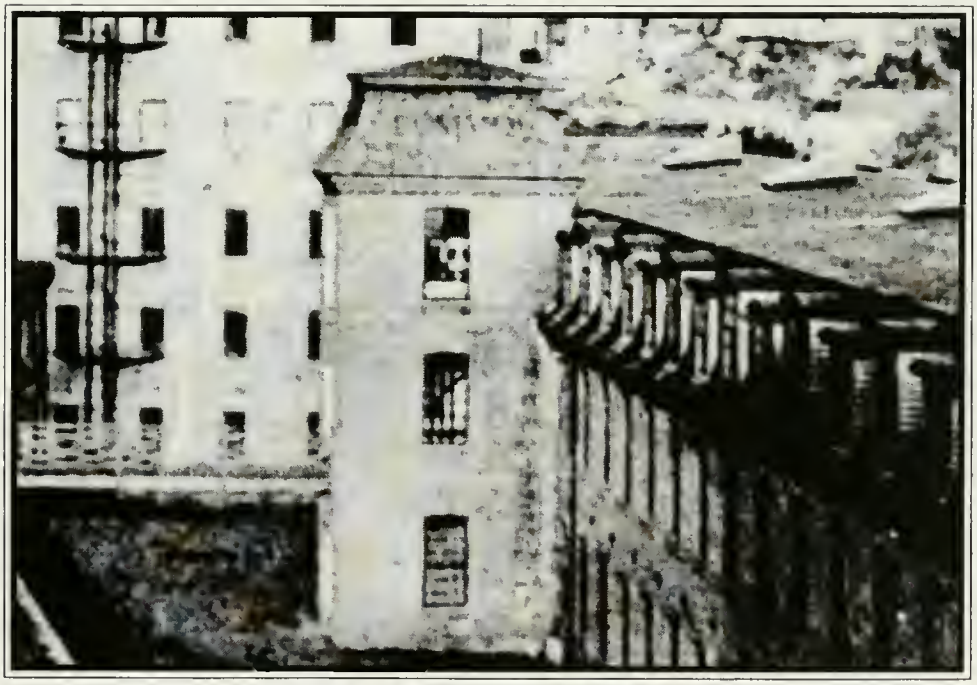
Appendix B-32
Contemporary view of north side of no.6 mill.



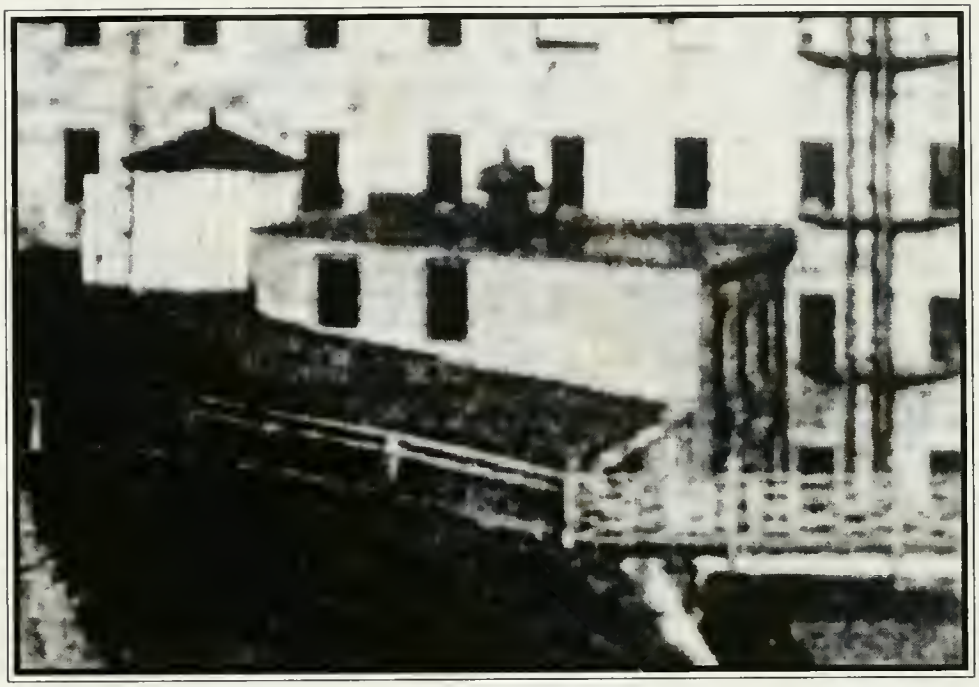
Appendix B-33
Detail of no.7 mill, 1887 bird's eye view.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

Appendix B-34
Detail of no.7 mill, 1887 bird's eye view.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

Appendix B-35
Contemporary view of south tower on no.7 mill.

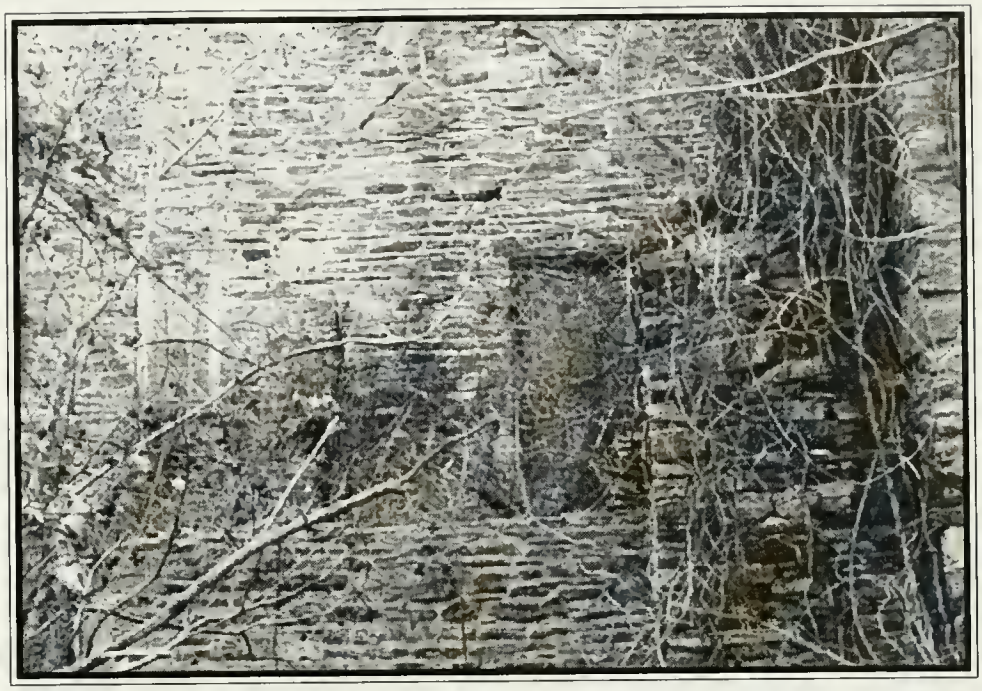


Appendix B-36
1880's view of north tower on no.7 mill.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

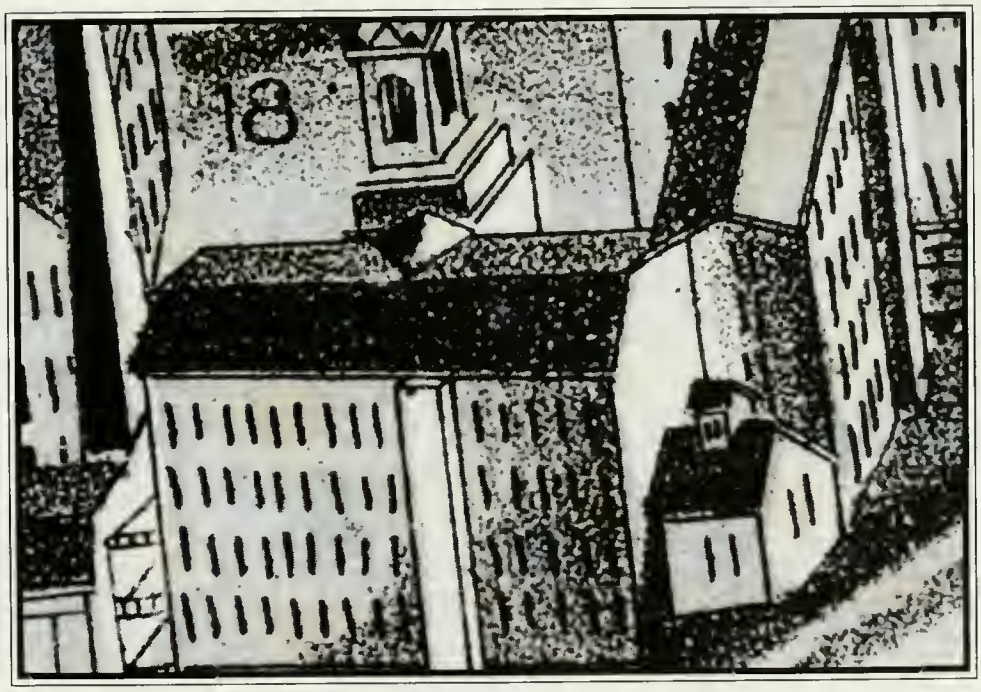


Appendix B-37
no.8 soap house, detail of 1880's photograph.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

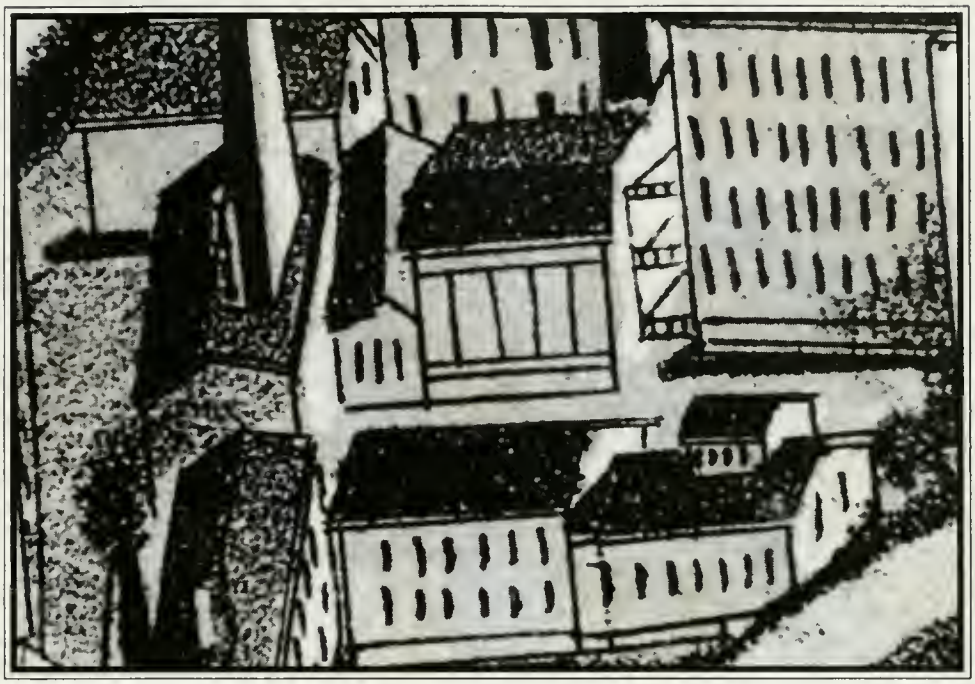
Appendix B-38
View of east side of no.10 picker house.



Appendix B-39
Ghosting of lost machine shop on east end of no.4 mill.



Appendix B-40
Detail of south side of no.4 mill showing machine shop,1887 bird's eye view.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

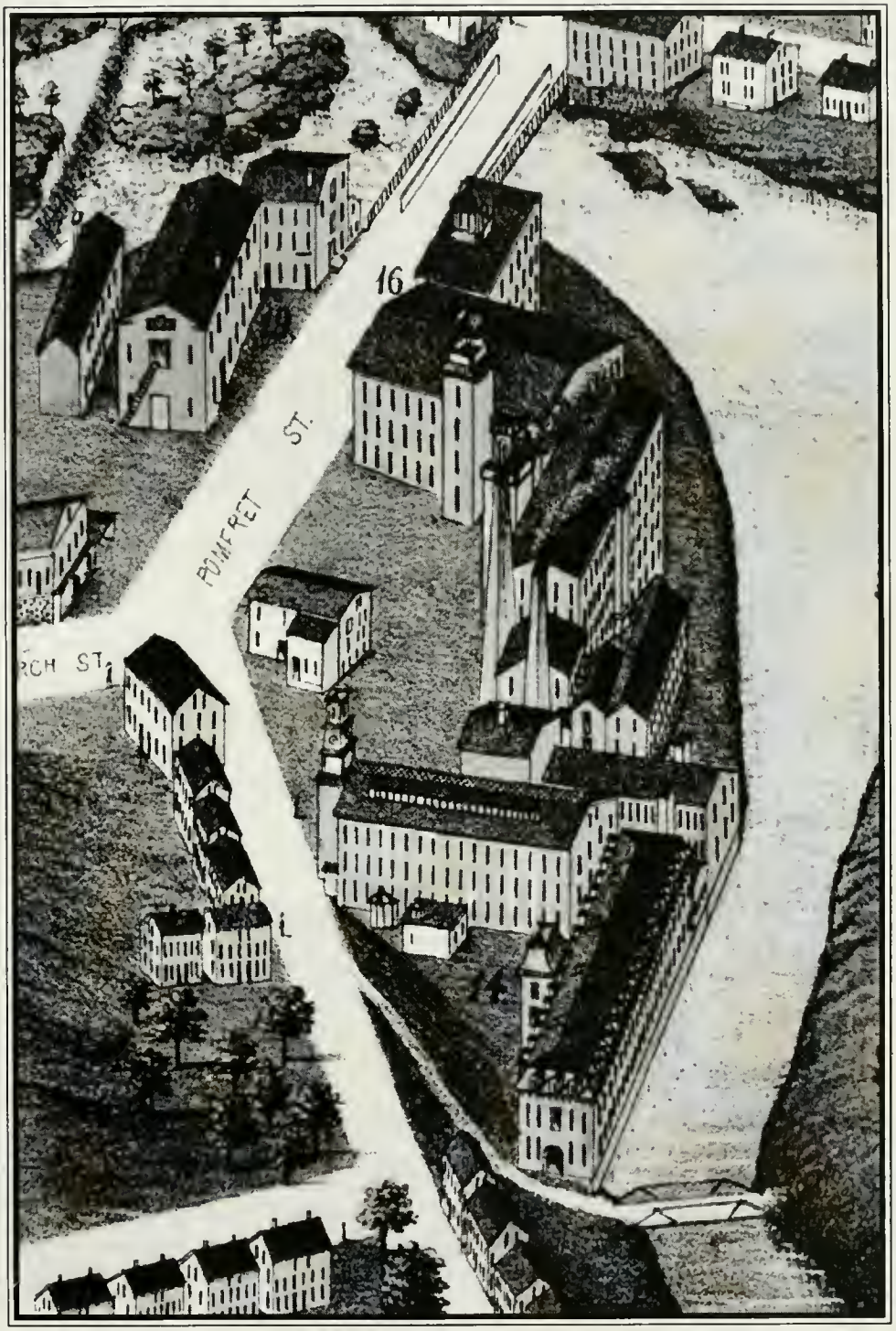


Appendix B-41
Detail of land between no.2 and no.3 mill complexes, 1887 bird's eye view.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

Appendix B-42
1880's image of new mill office with smoke stack in background.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

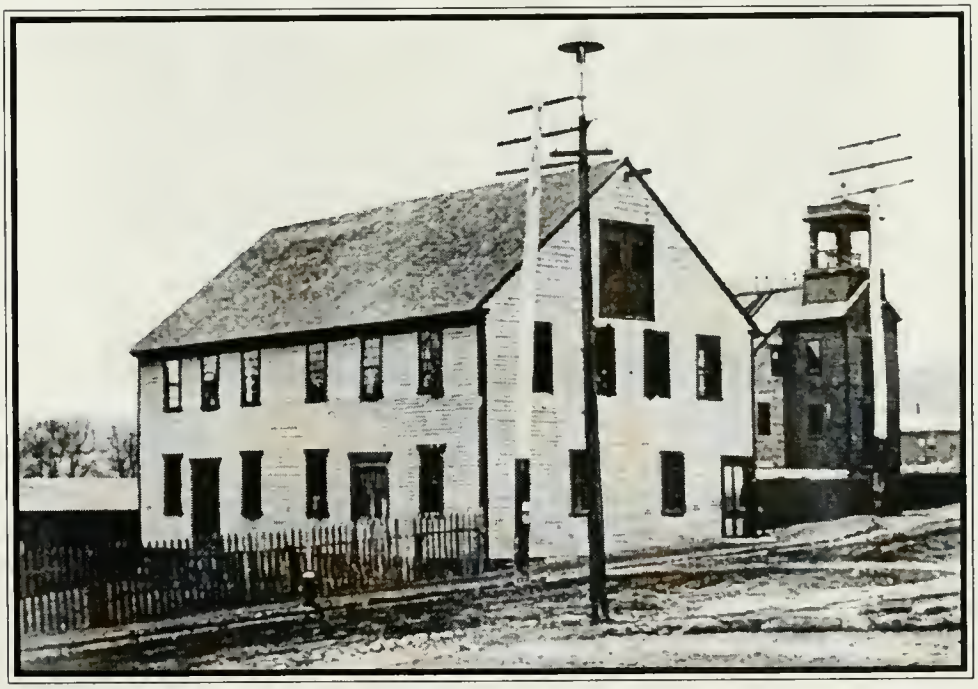
Appendix B-43
Contemporary image of north side of no.12 Picker house.

Appendix B-44
1889 image of entire mill complex.
(Aspinock Historical Society)



Appendix B-45
Detail 1877 bird's eye view of Putnam.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

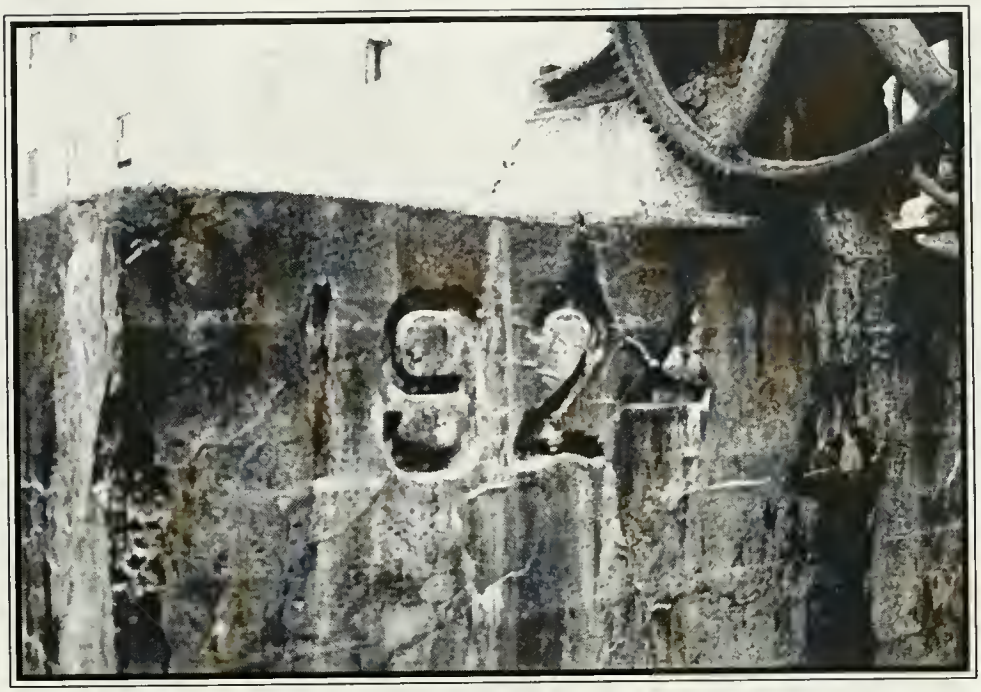
Appendix B-46
Contemporary view of mill office building.



Appendix B-47
Image of store building located on mill office site, 1880's.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

Appendix B-48
South end of no.9 dye house- Pre 1924.

Appendix B-49
South end of no.18 powerhouse.



Appendix B-50
Date stone on no.3 mill complex headrace.

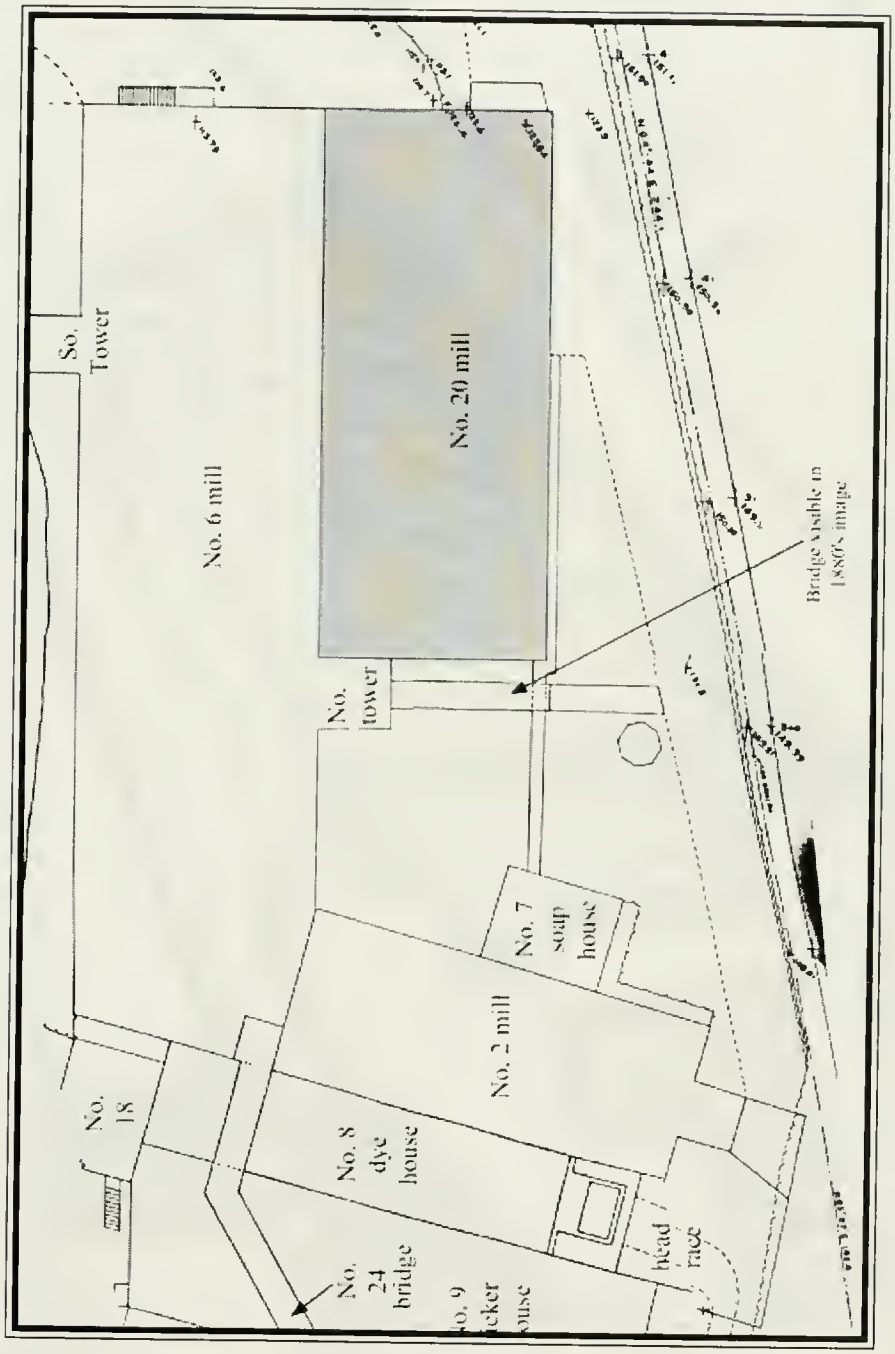
Appendix B-51
Date stone on no.19 powerhouse.

Appendix B-52

Comparison of contemporary view of south west intersection of no.5 and no.6 mills with inset view from 1887 bird's eye image.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

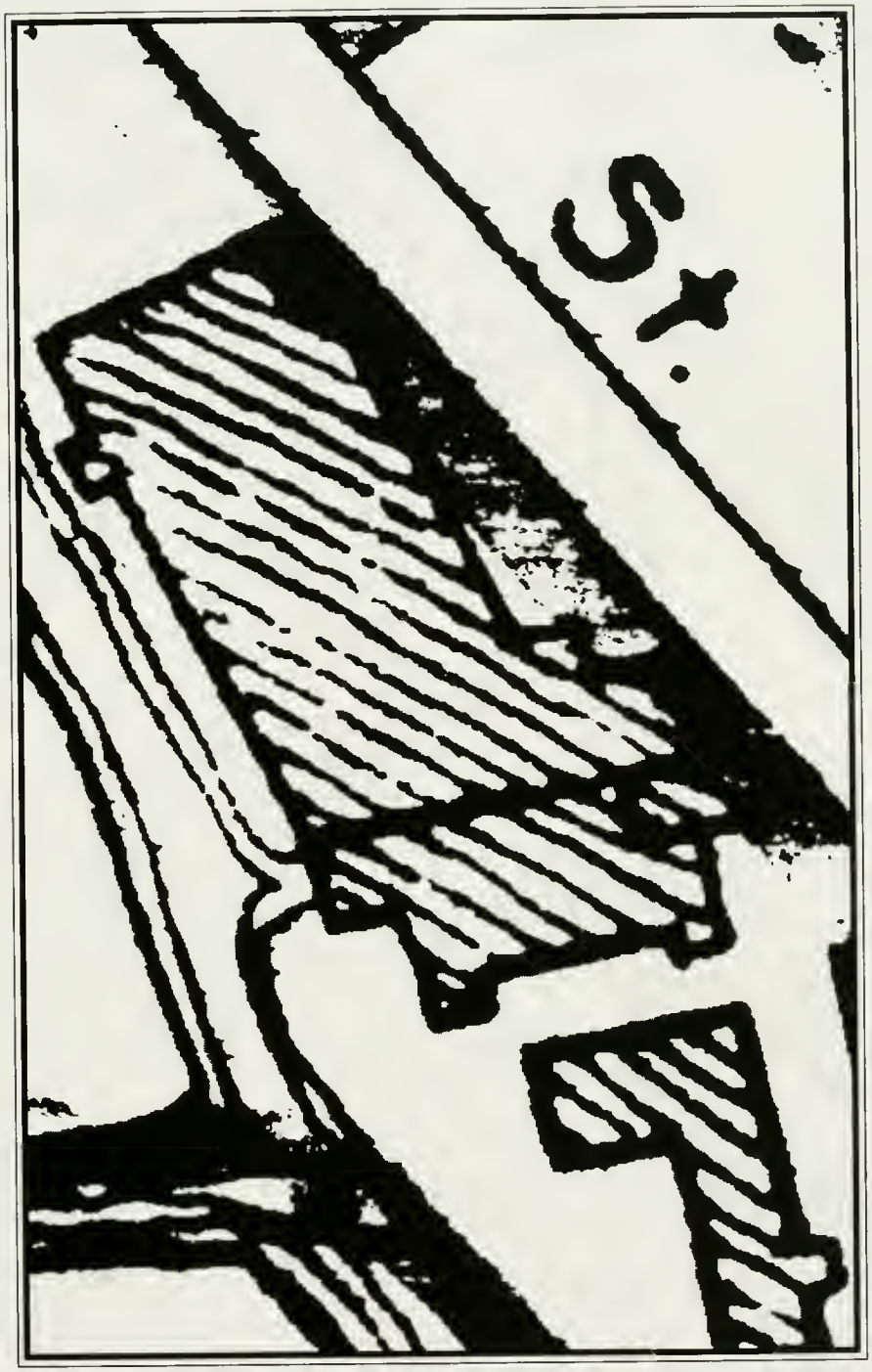
Appendix B-53

Detail showing altered or demolished buildings, 1889 image.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

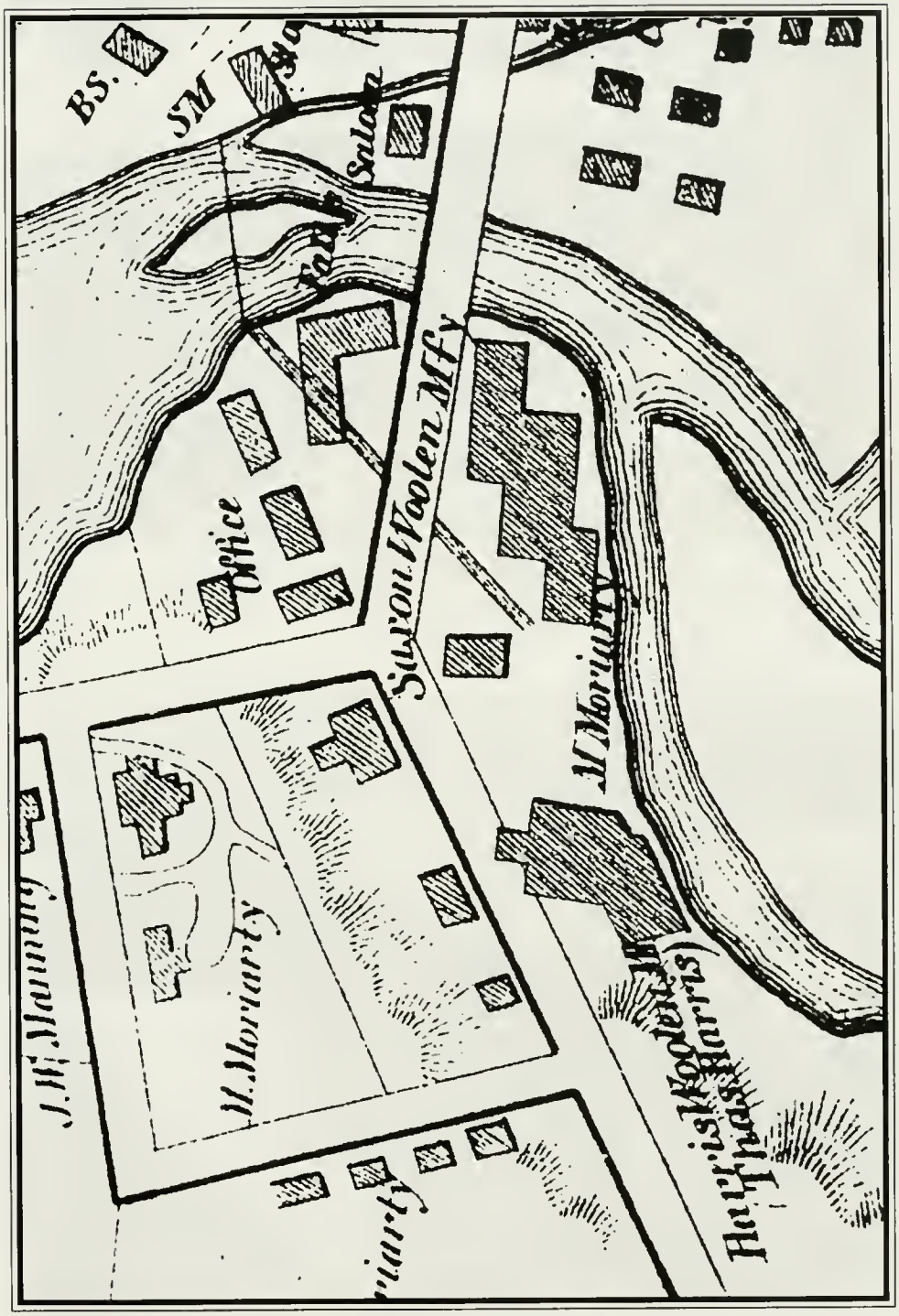


Appendix B-54

1944 site plan of mill complex high-lighting no.21 mill addition.
(Aspinock Historical Society)



Appendix B-55
1945 site plan of mill showing addition of no.22 mill.
(Aspinock Historical Society)



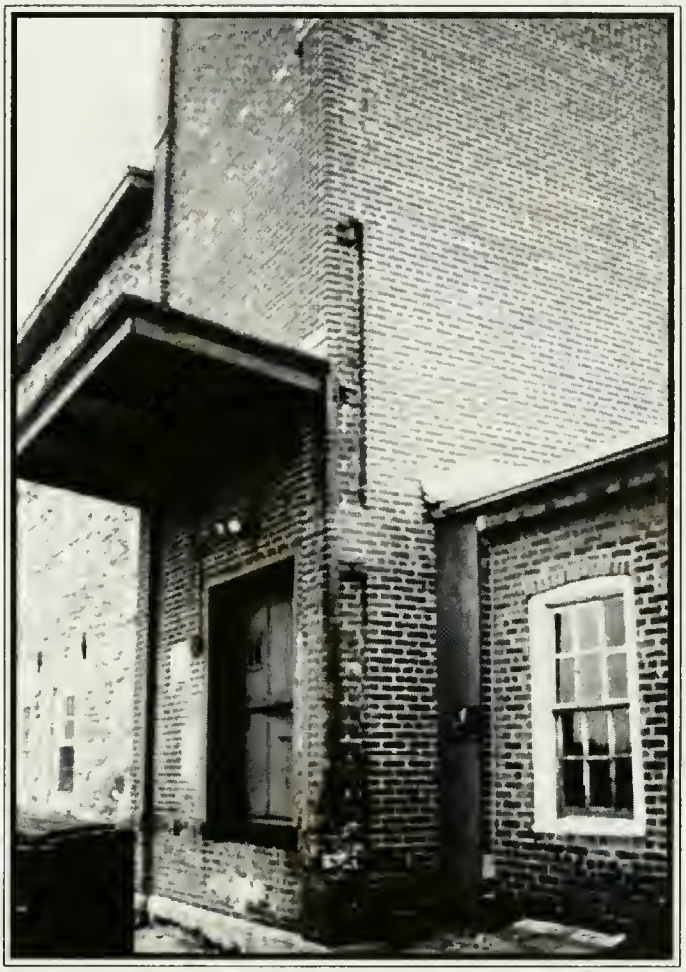
Appendix B-56
Detail - 1869 map of Putnam.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

Appendix B-57
Contemporary view of north side of no.21 mill addition.

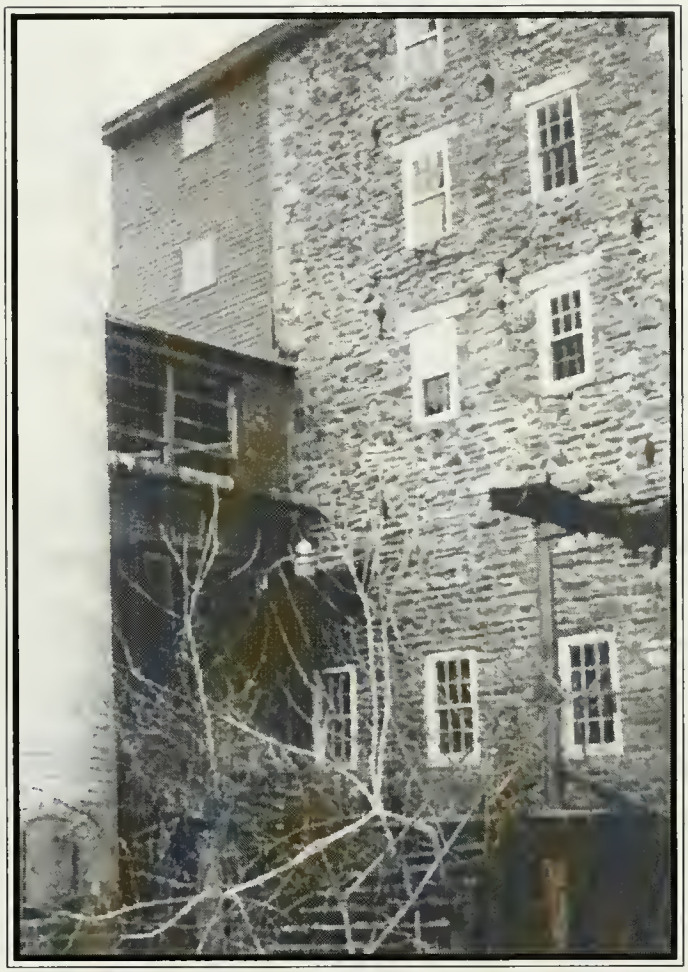
Appendix B-58
Contemporary view of north side of no.23 soap house.

Appendix B-59
Contemporary view of south side of no.24 blending and dyeing house.

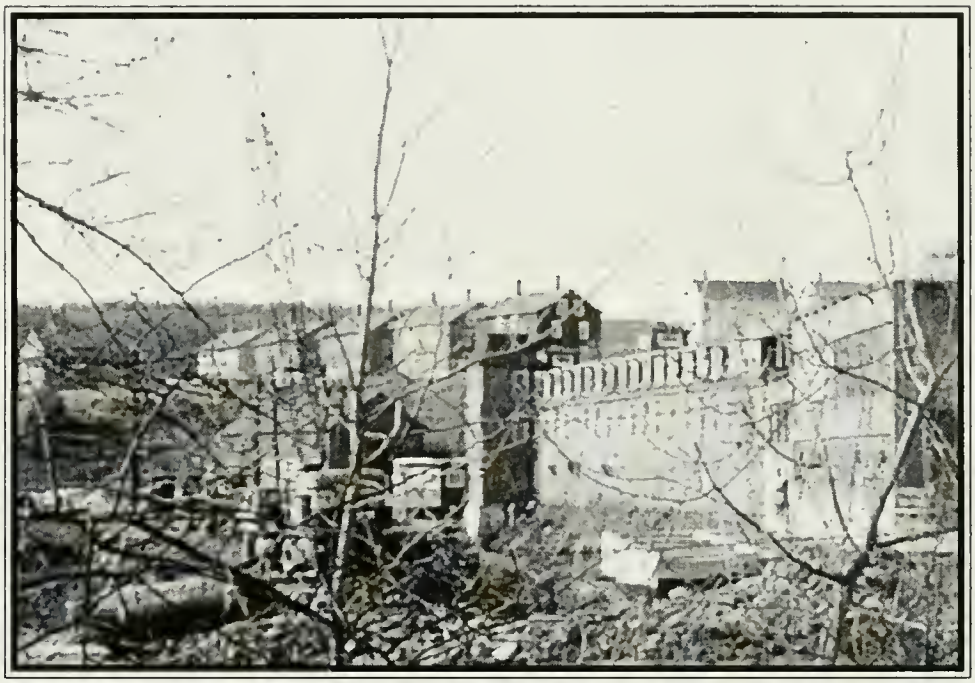
Appendix B-60
Contemporary view of underside of no.25 bridge.



Appendix B-61
Contemporary view of north side of no.26 elevator tower.

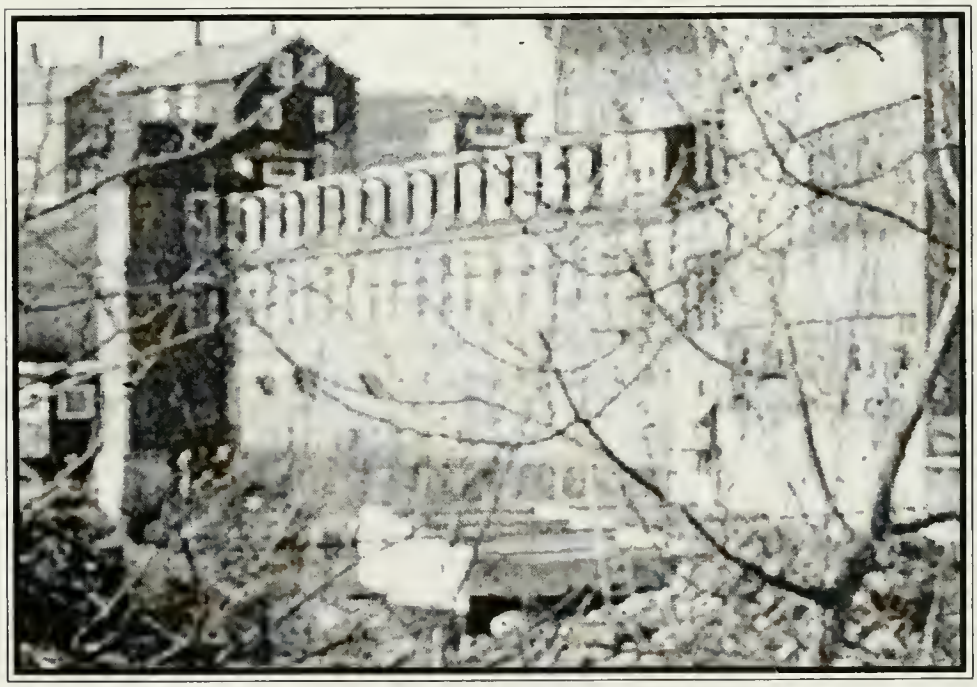


Appendix B-62
Contemporary view of south side of no.27 addition and loading dock.

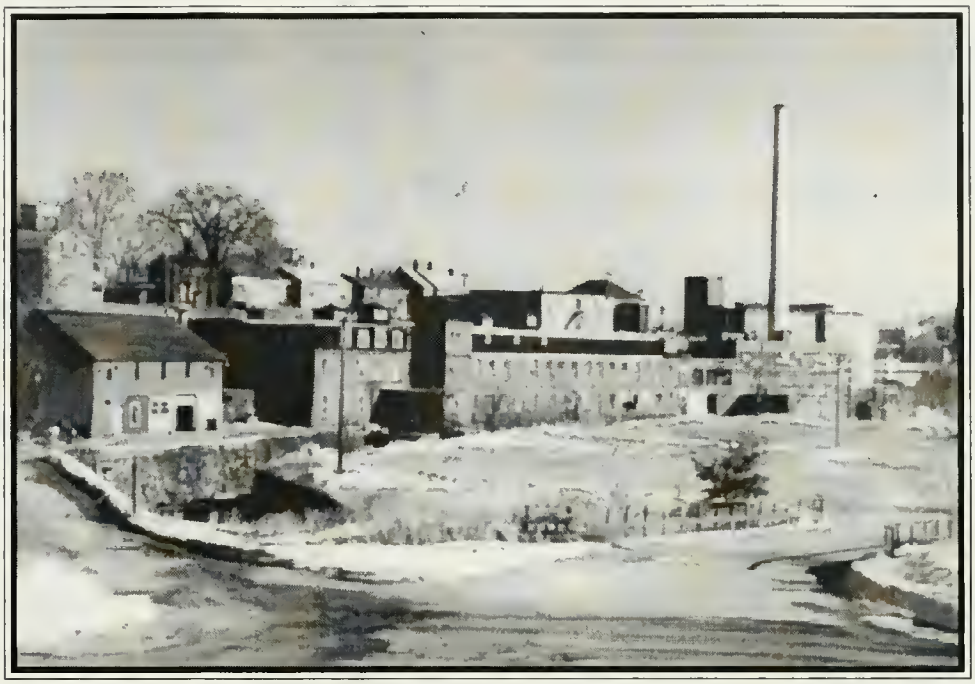


Appendix B-63
1970 view of alteration to the tail race in progress.
(Old Sturbridge Village Archives)

Appendix B-64
Contemporary view of south side of no.7 mill without dormers.



Appendix B-65
1970 view of south side of no.7 mill with dormers.
(Old Sturbridge Village Archives)

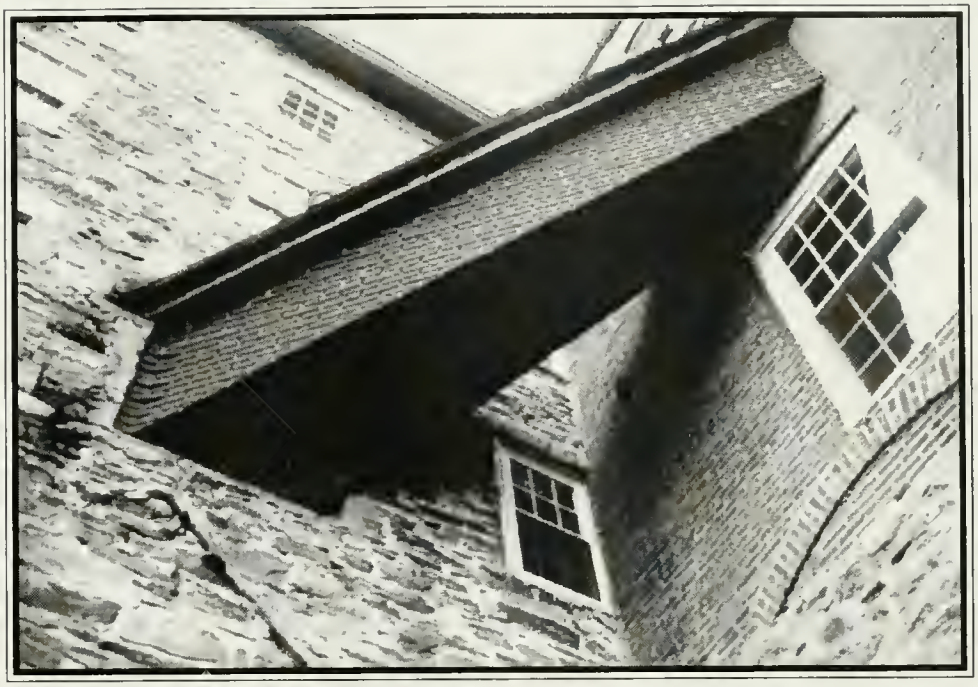


Appendix B-66
1883 image of south side of entire complex (dormers are missing).
(Aspinock Historical Society)

Appendix B-67
Contemporary image of south side of entire complex
with shortened chimney.

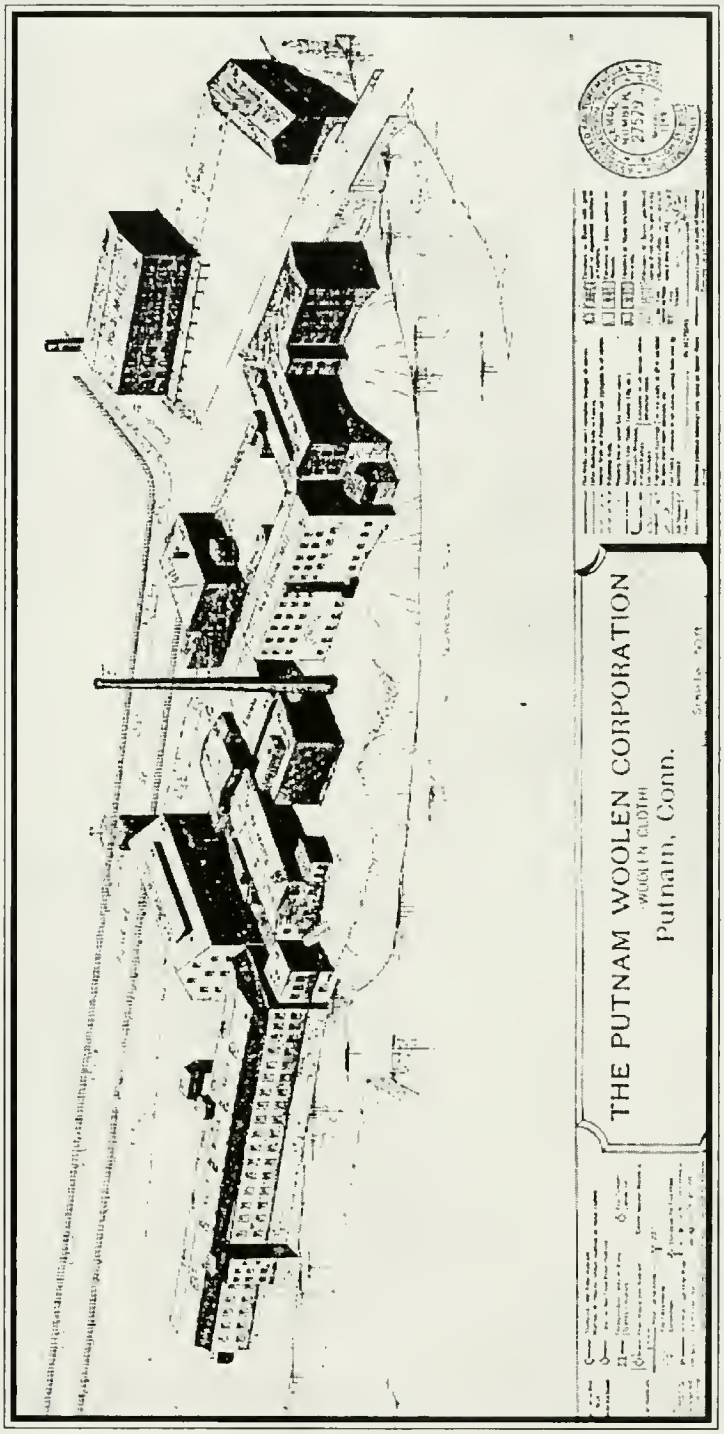
Appendix 68
Wilkinson Mill-Pawtucket RI

Appendix 69
Wilkinson Mill-Putnam CT

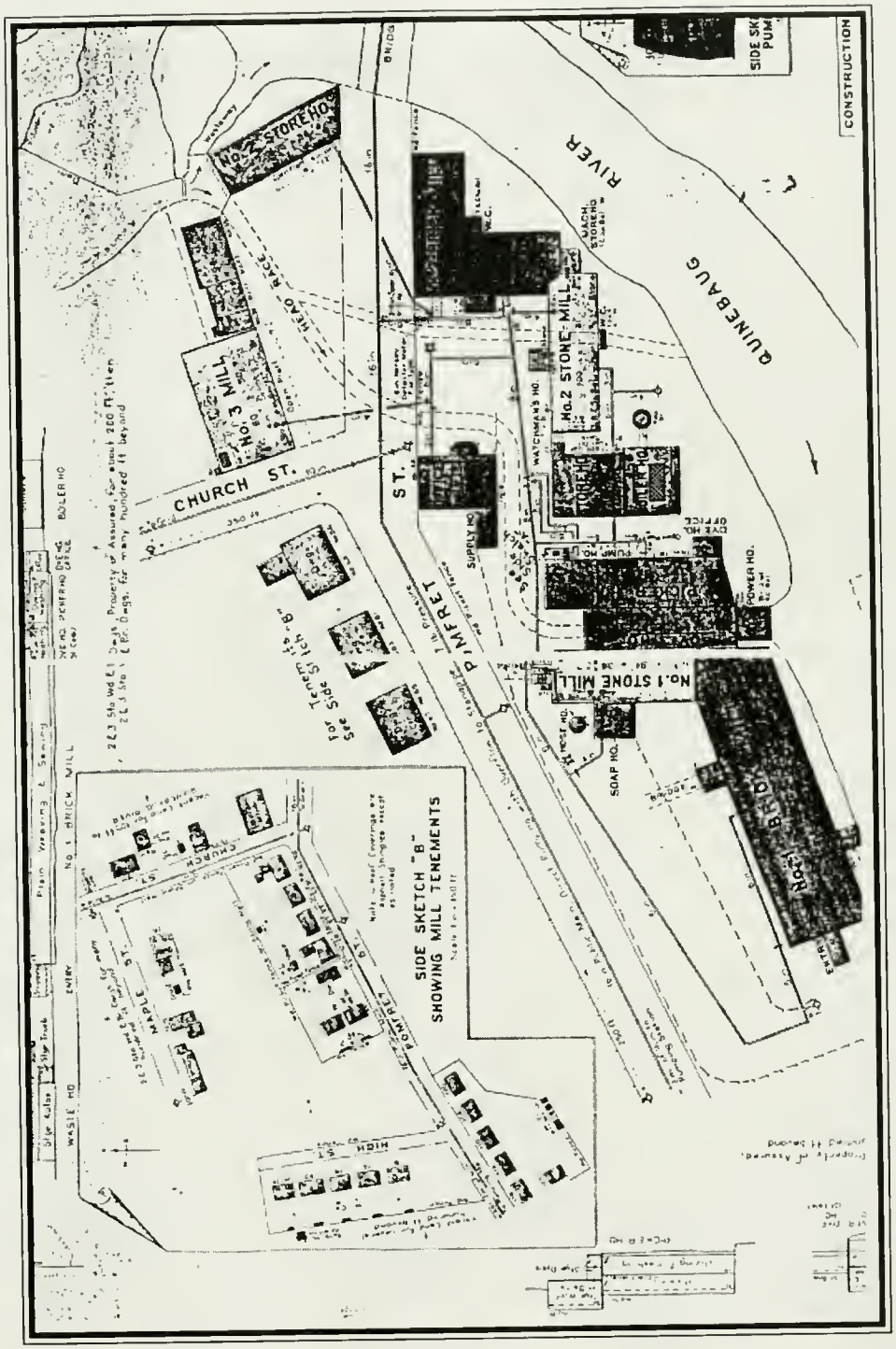


Appendix B-70
Evidence of more than a century of change in the southwest intersection of no. 4 and no. 5 mills.

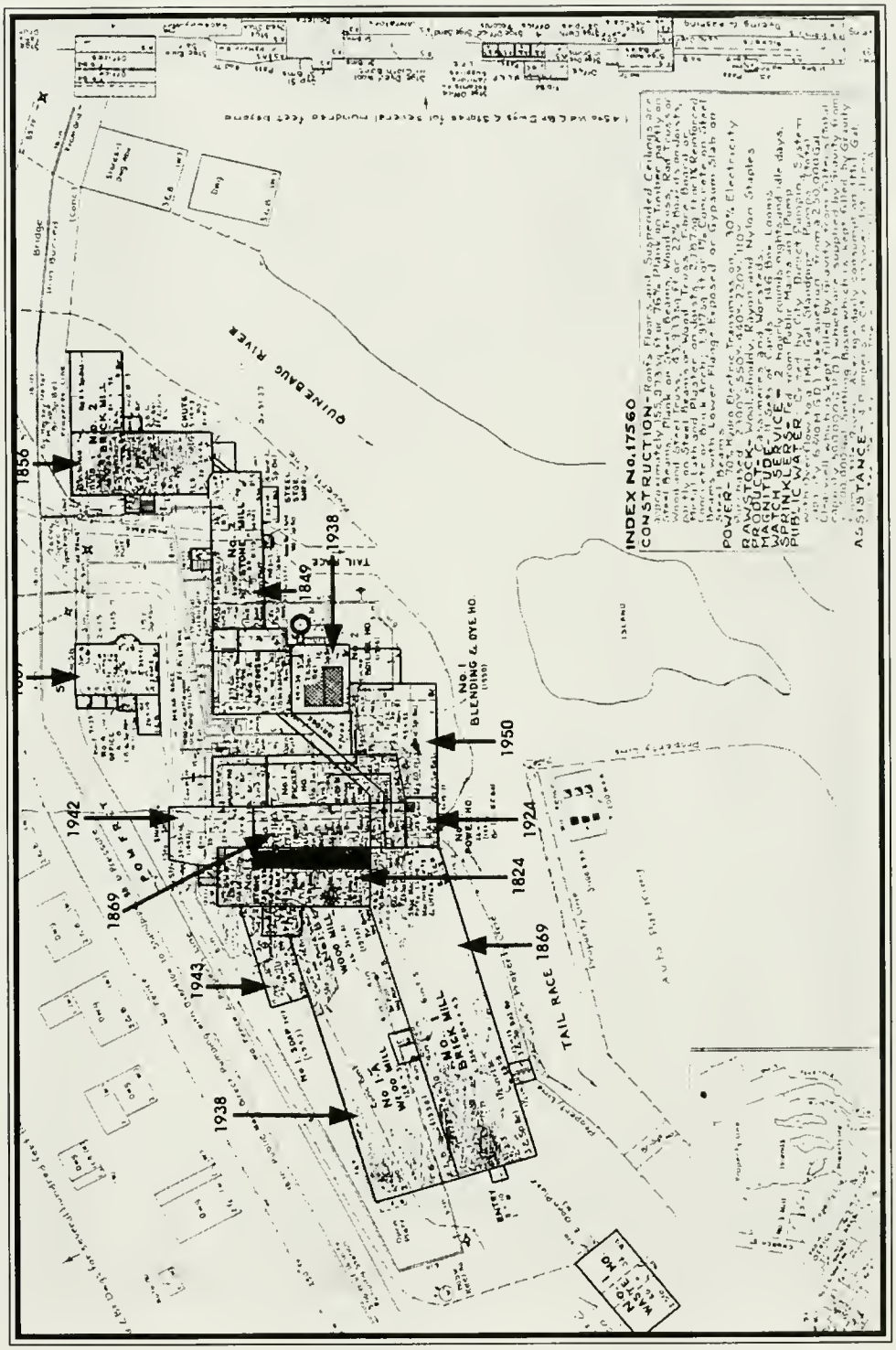
Appendix B-71
Multiple layers show the complex total history.
South side of no.18 powerhouse.



Appendix B-72
1937 insurance survey perspective.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

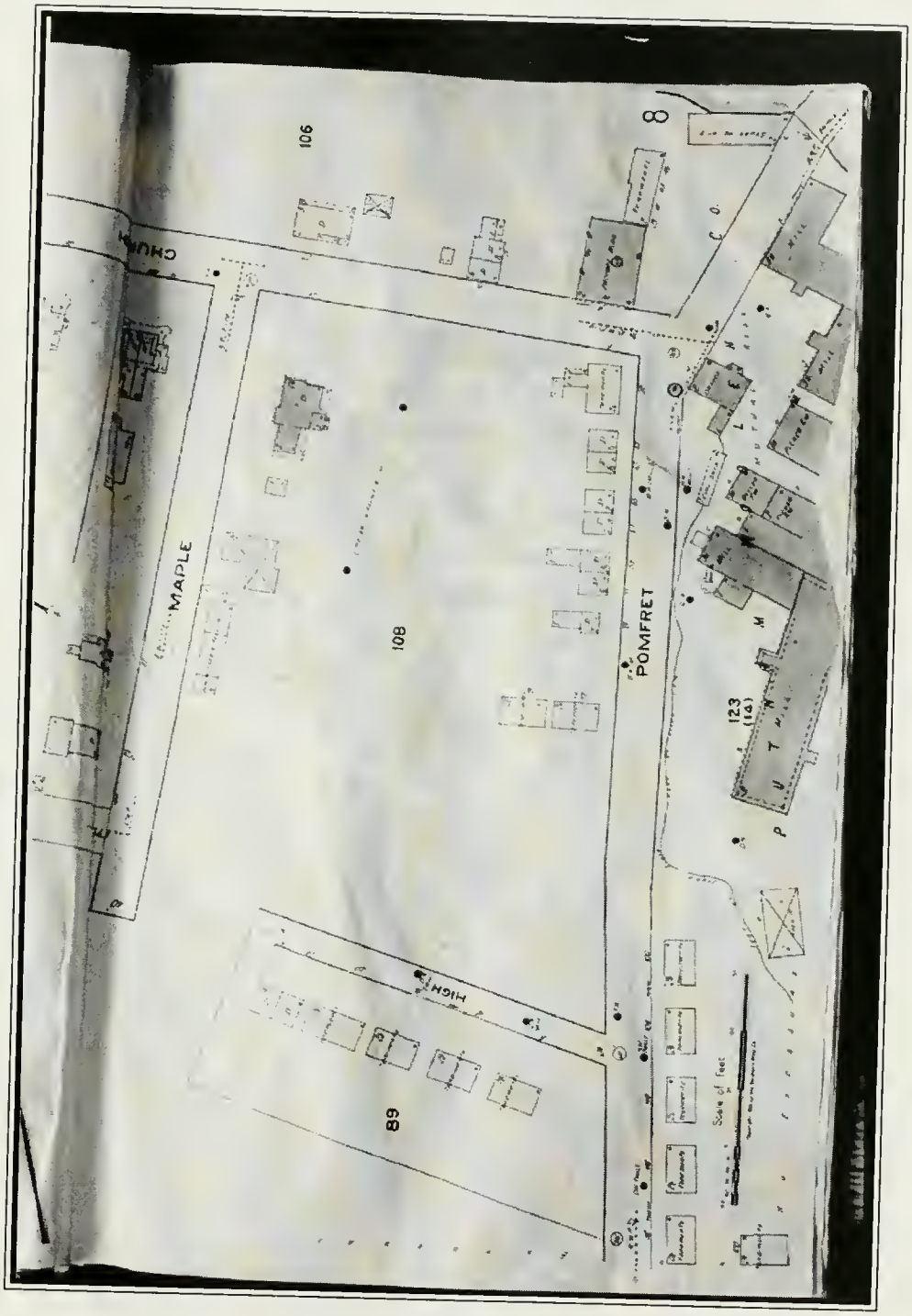


Appendix B-73
1937 insurance survey plan.
(Aspinock Historical Society)



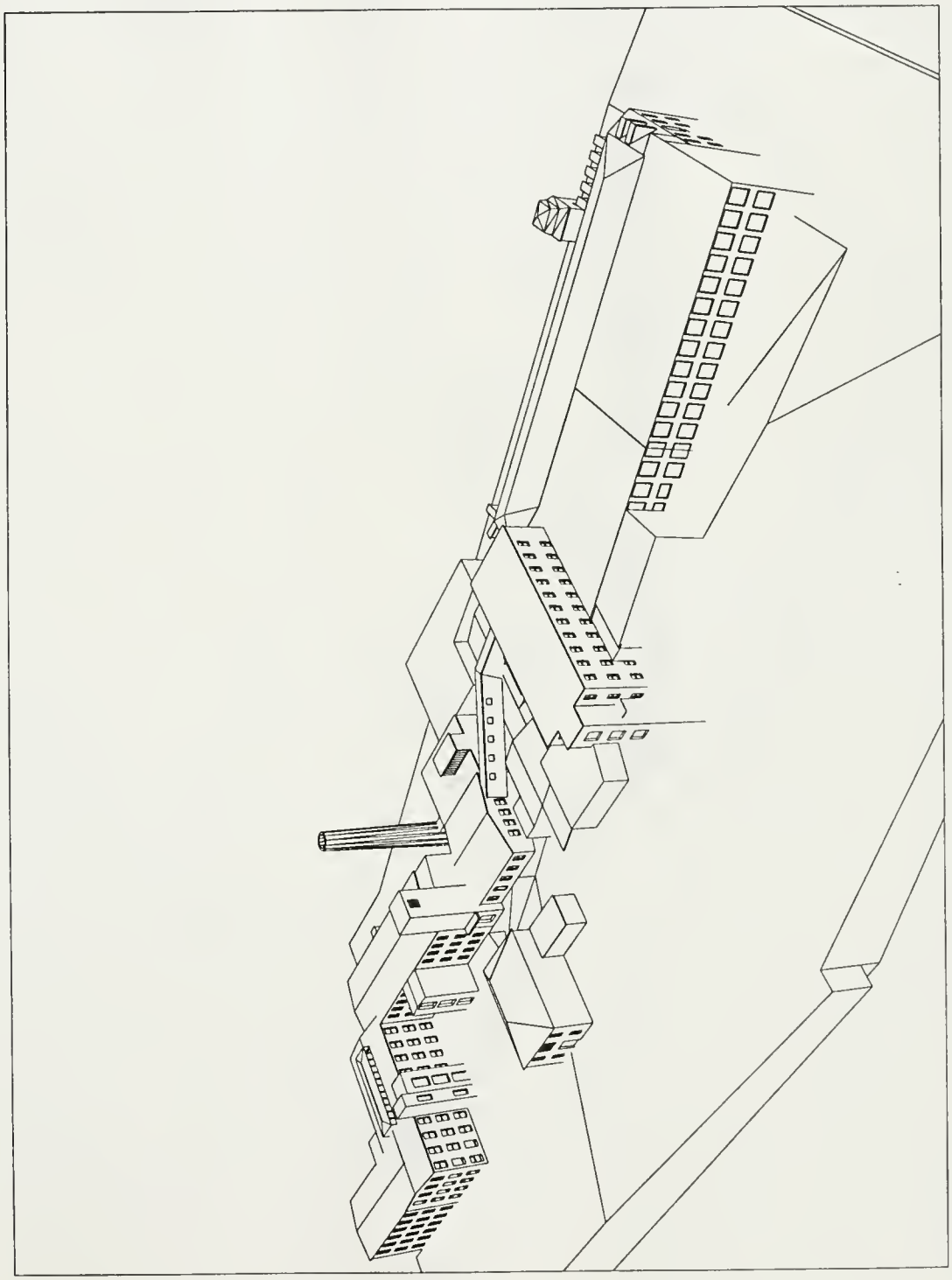
Appendix B-74

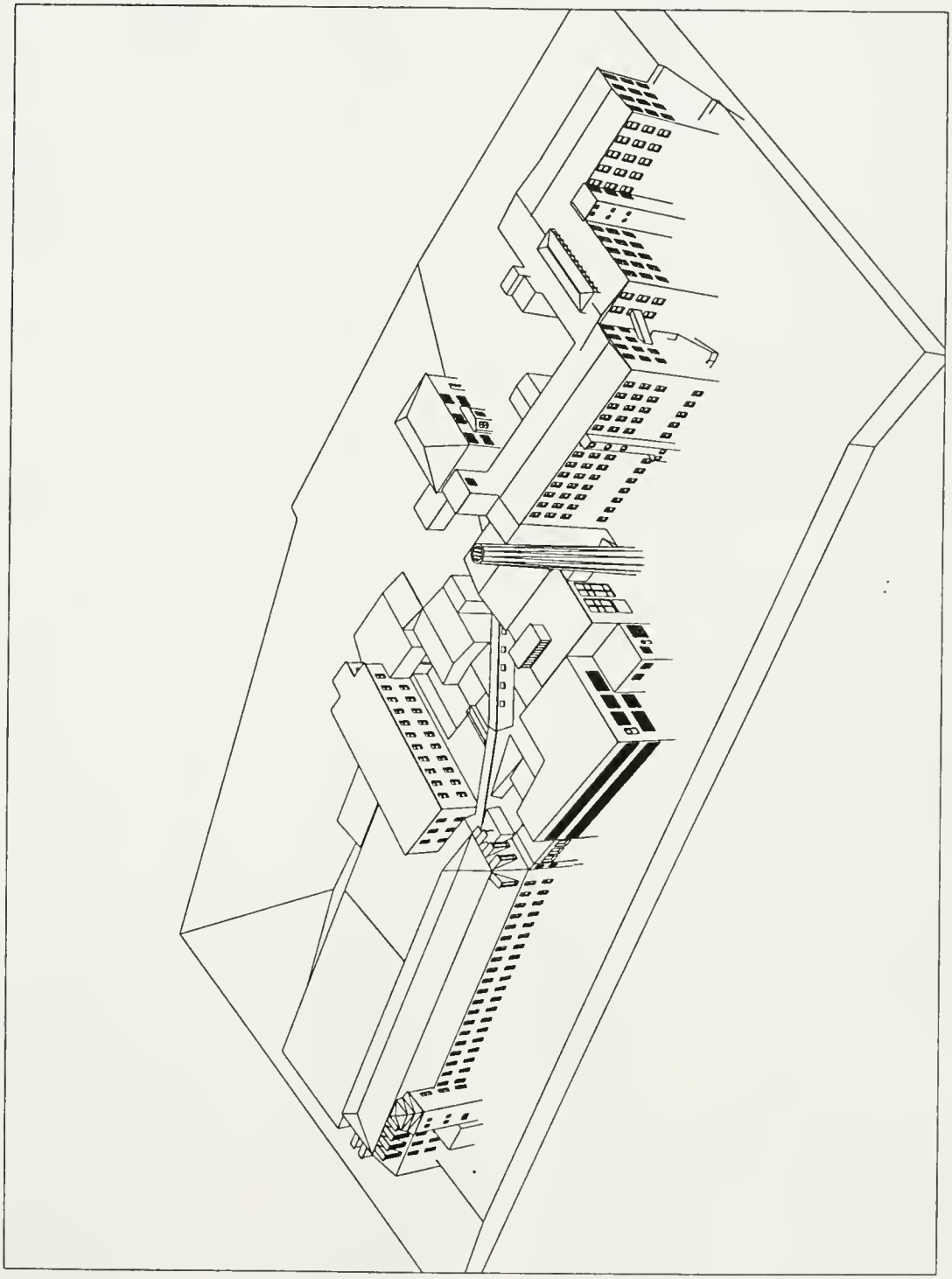
Post 1950 insurance survey plan with construction dates.
(Aspinock Historical Society)

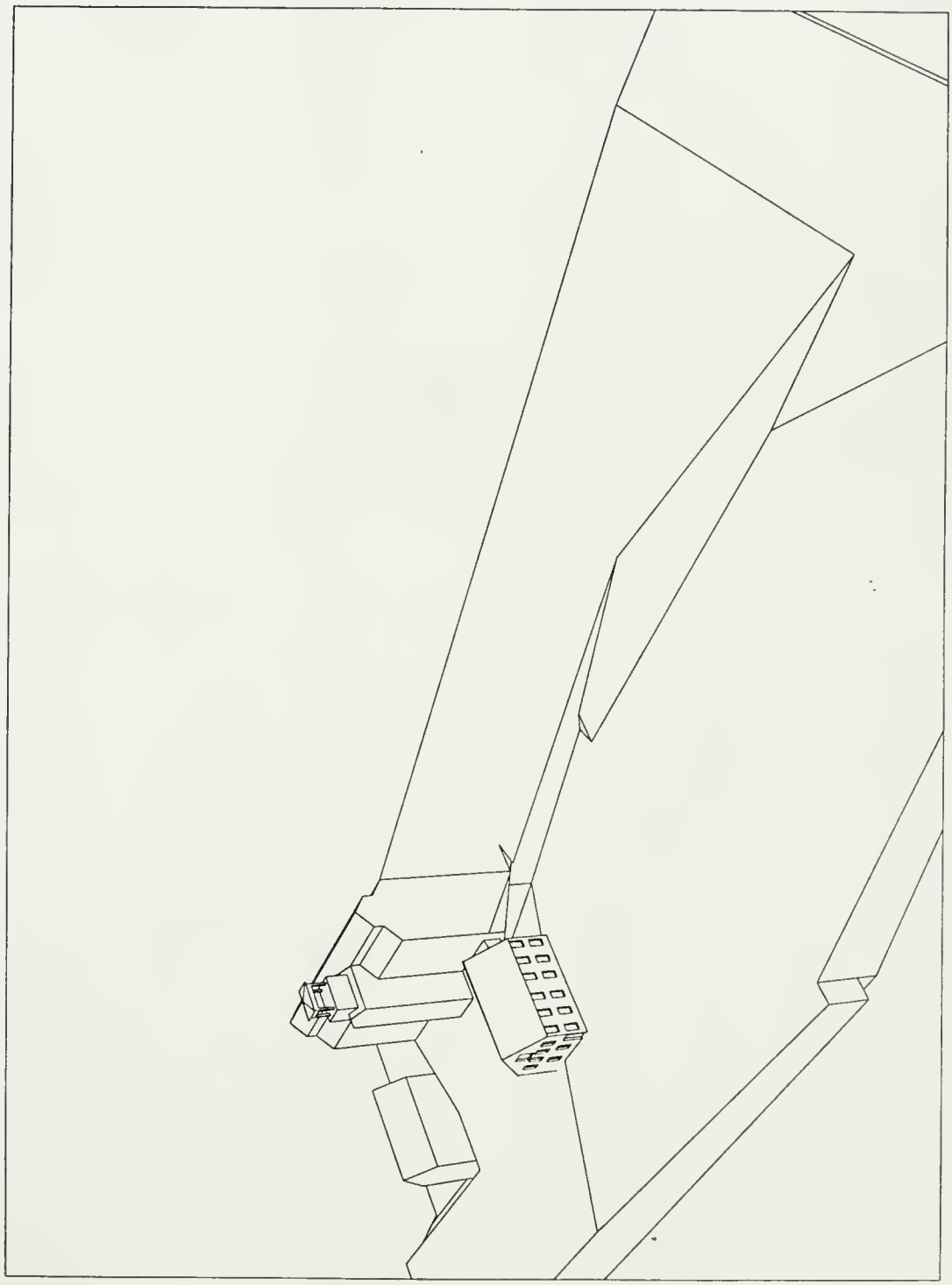


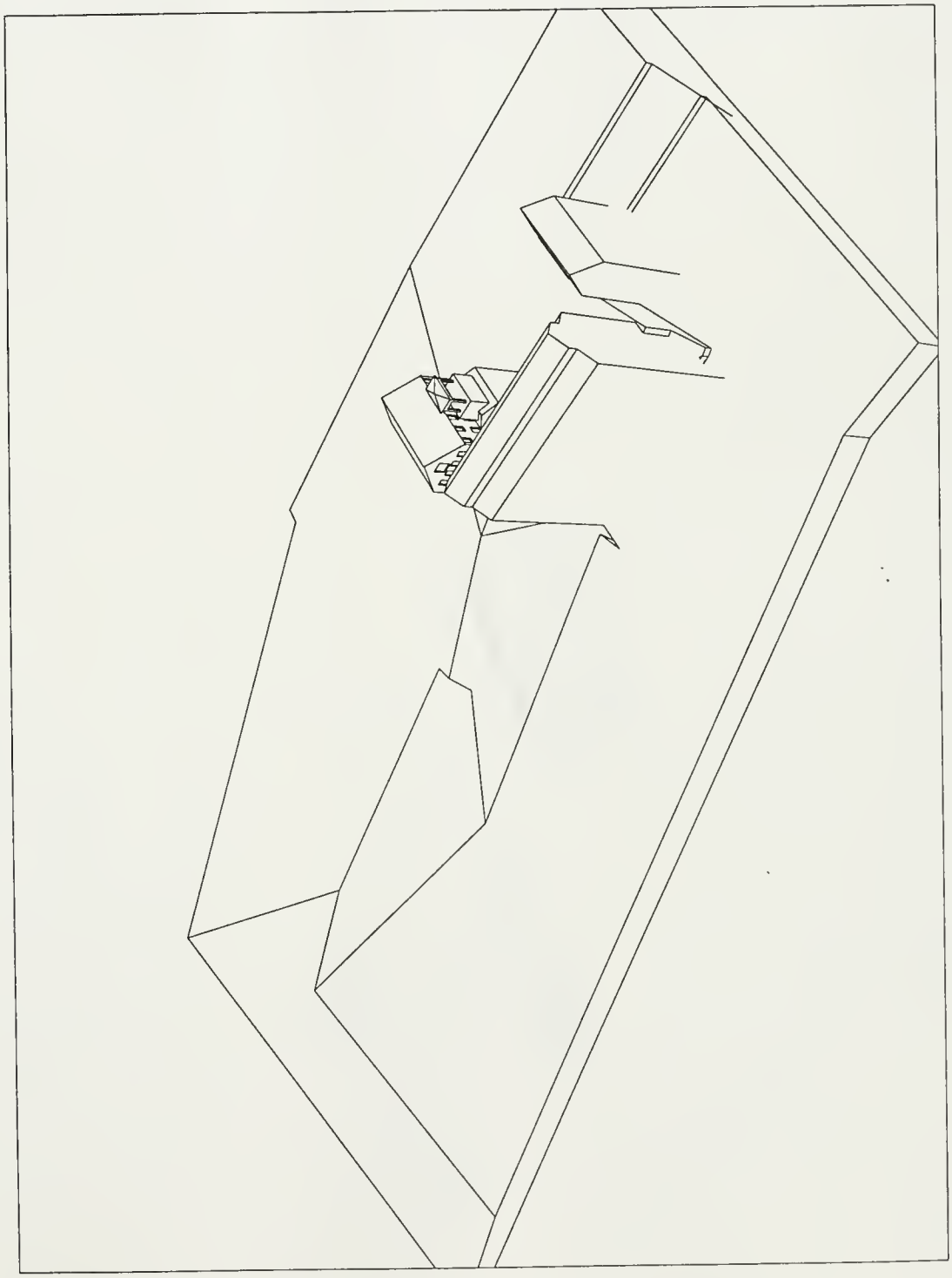
Appendix B-75
1920 Sanborn map of site.

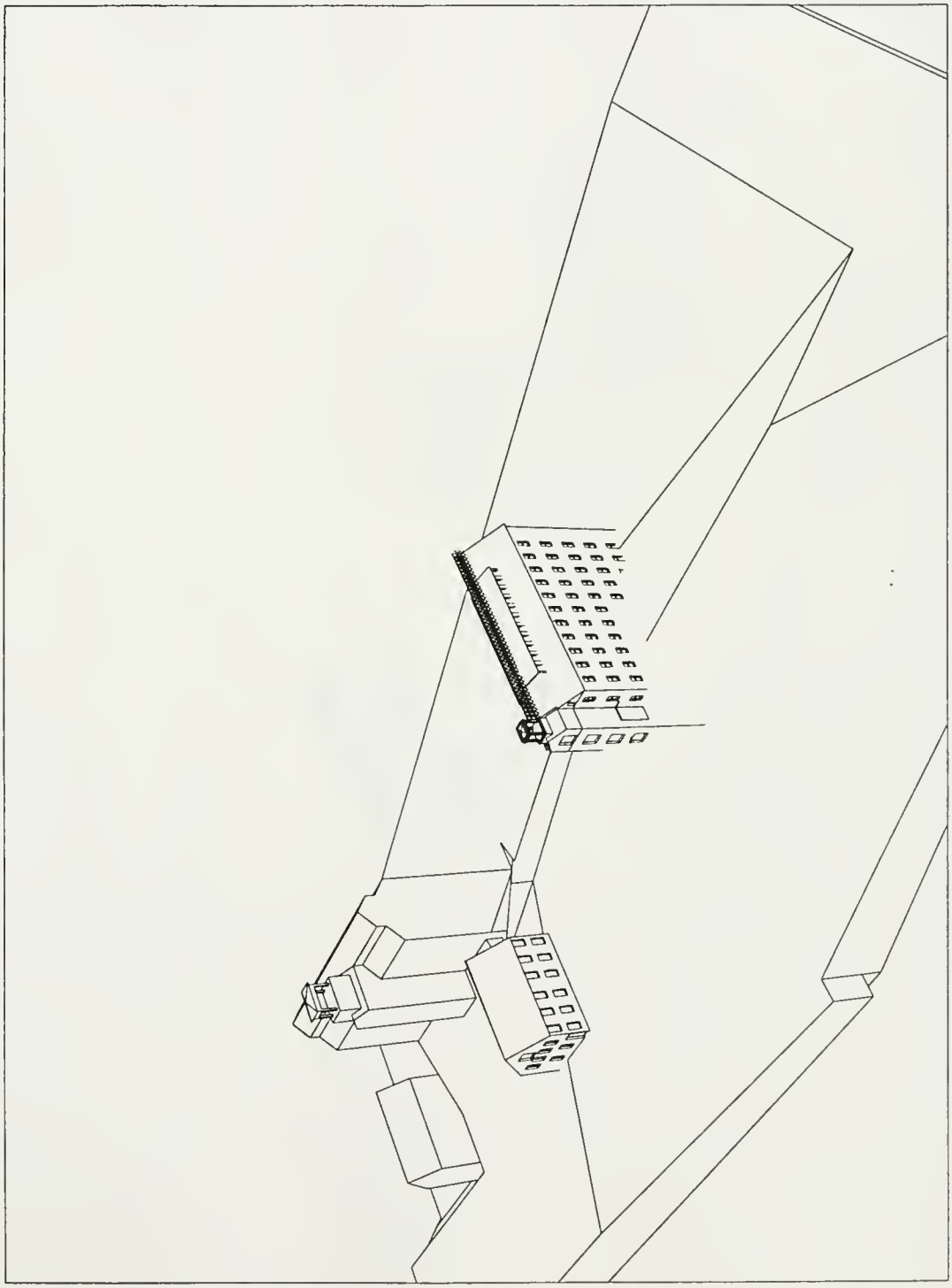
Appendix B-76
(Run of the Mill, Steve Dunwell)

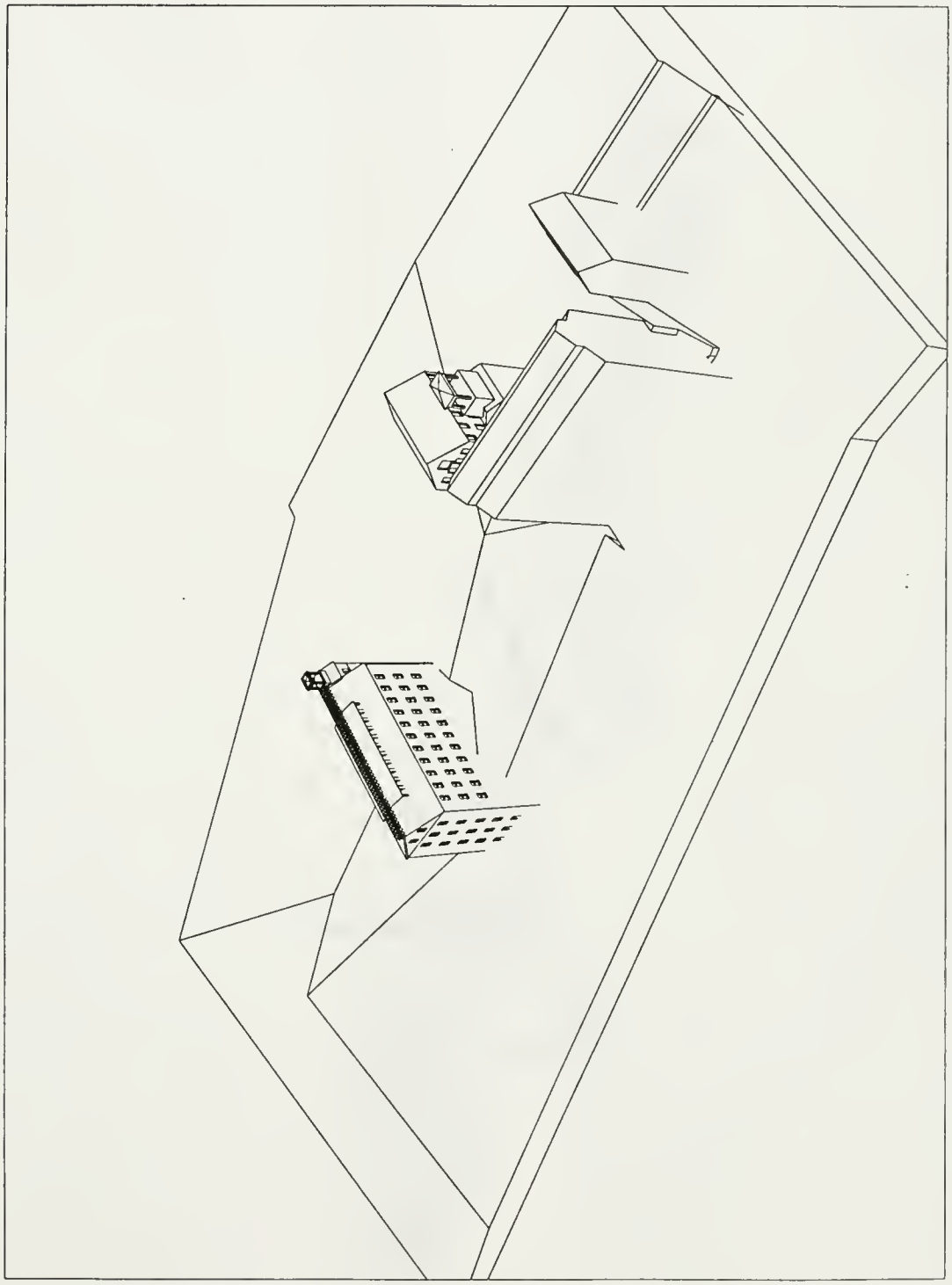


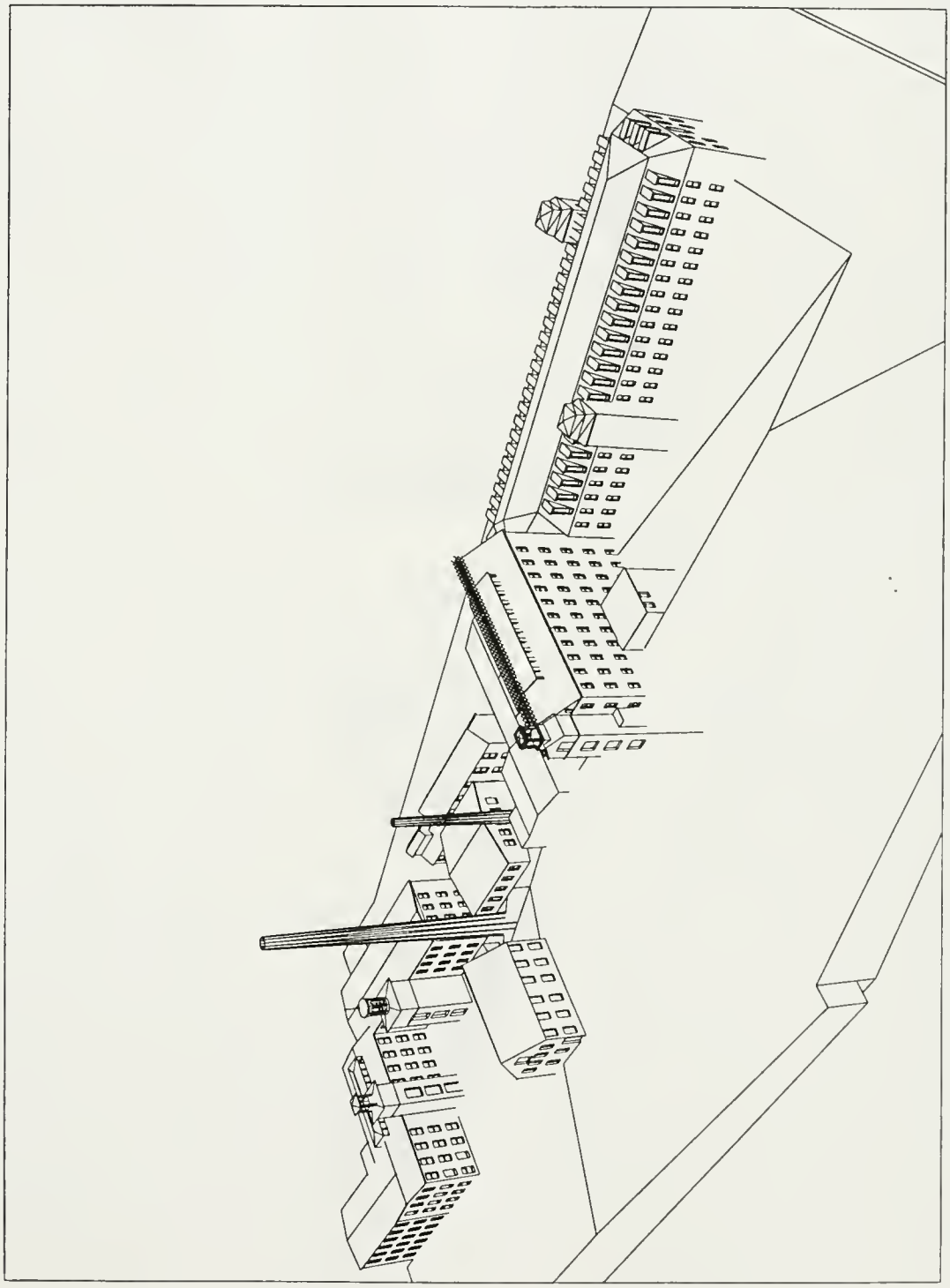


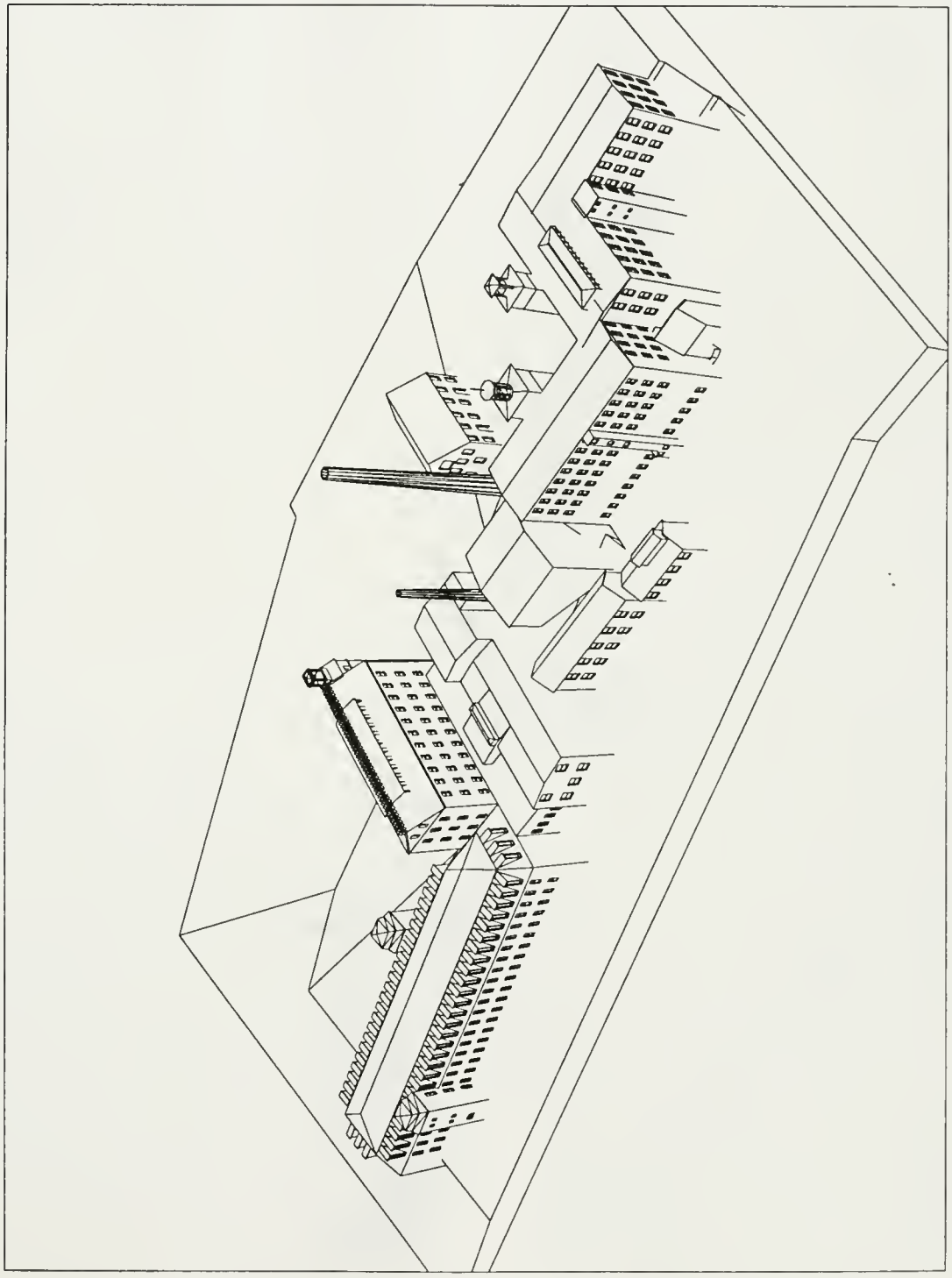


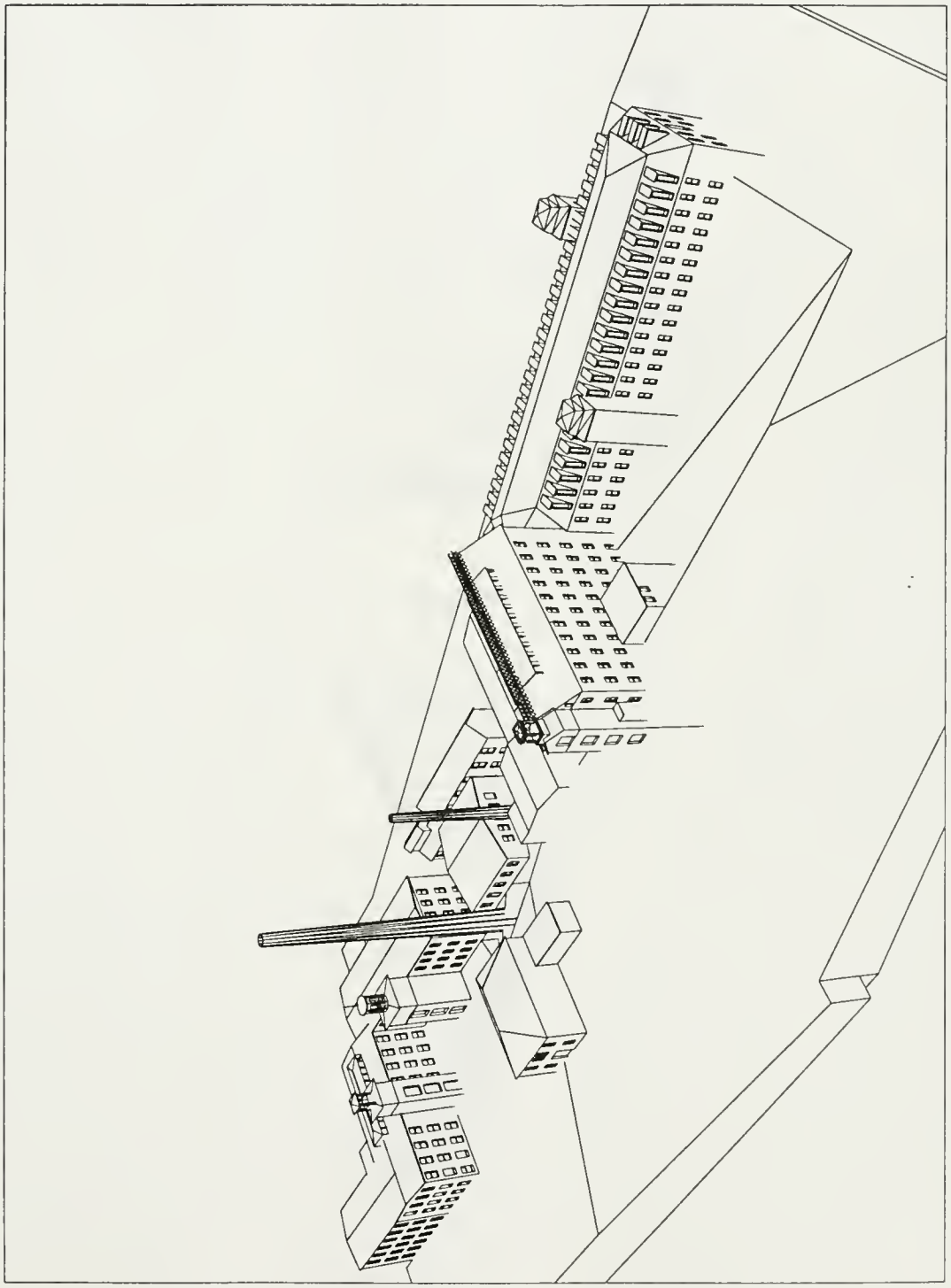


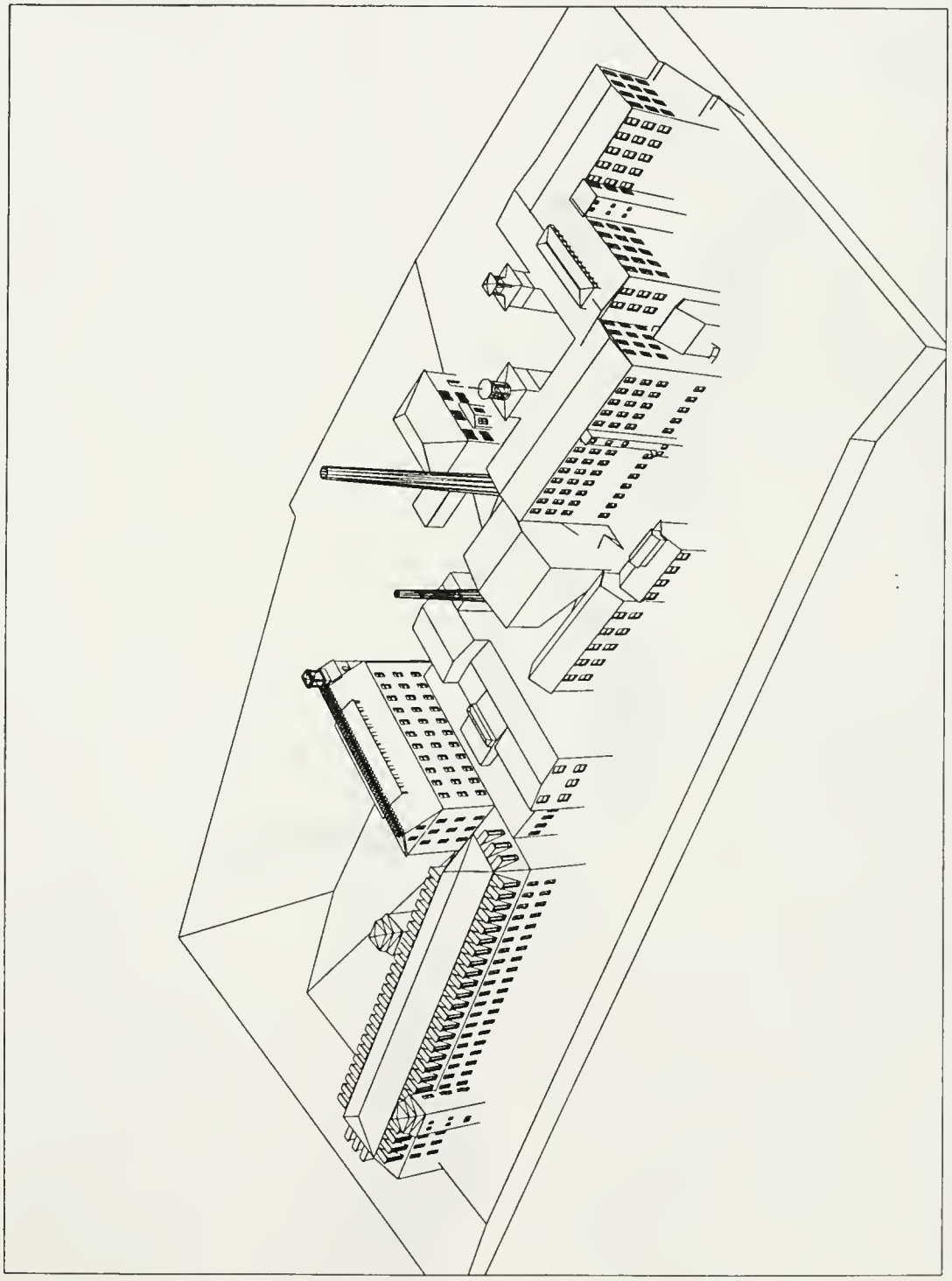


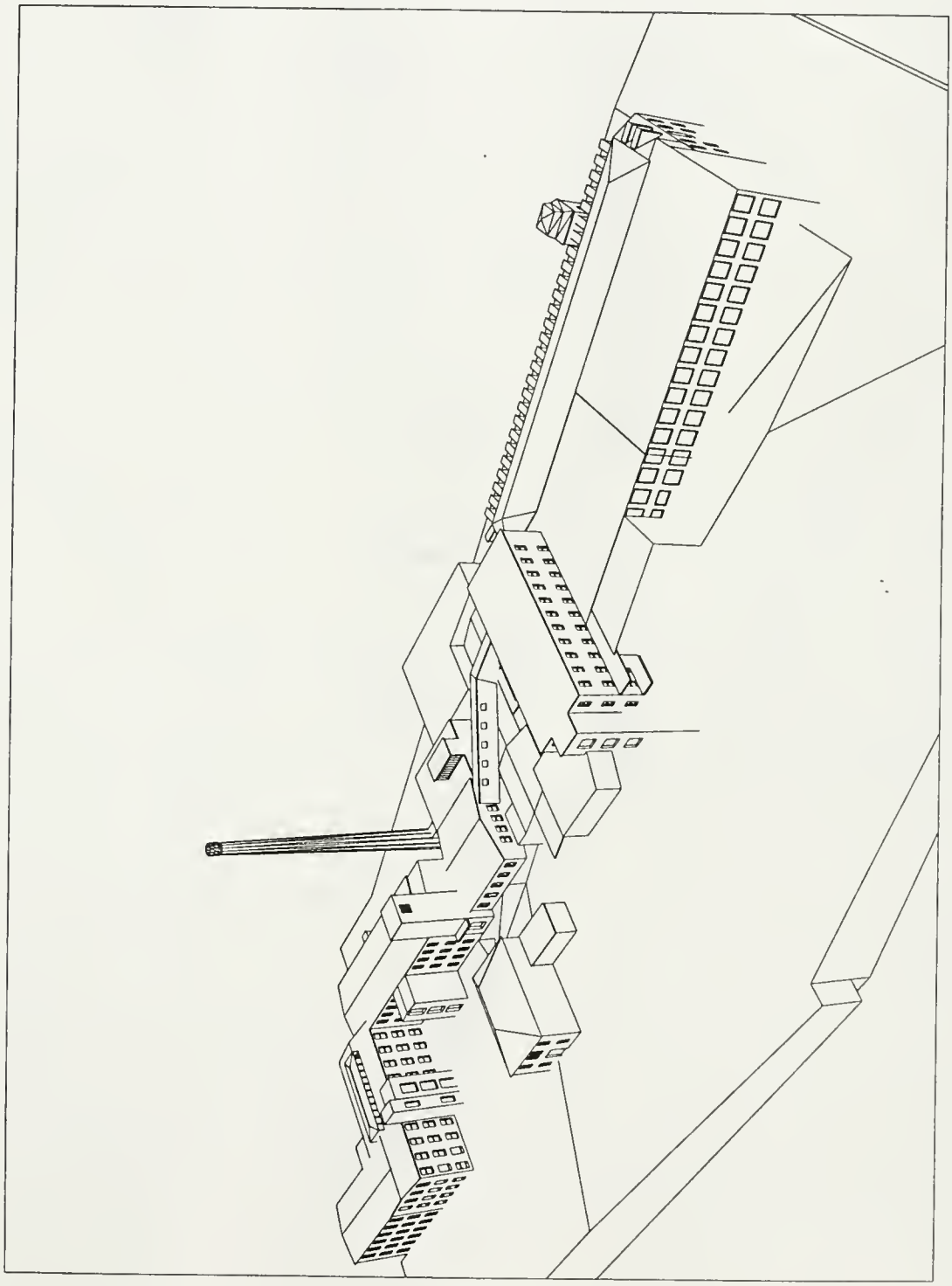


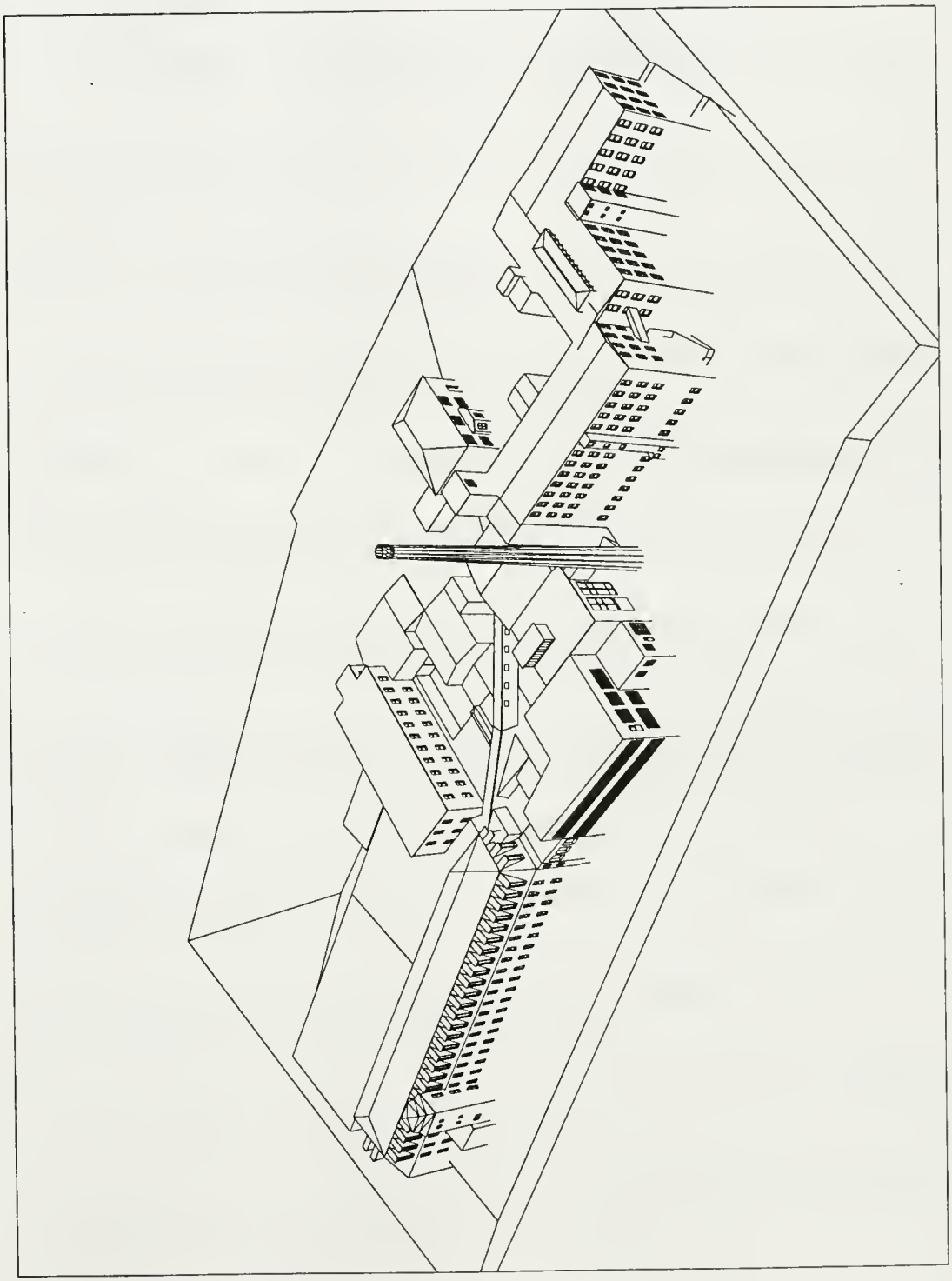












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